Statement

RESPECTING

THE EARL OF SELKIRK'S SETTLEMENT

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

STATEMENT

RESPECTING

The Earl of Selkirk's Settlement

UPON THE RED RIVER,

IN

North America;

ITS DESTRUCTION IN 1815 *AND* 1816;

AND THE MASSACRE OF

GOVERNOR SEMPLE AND HIS PARTY.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

UPON A RECENT PUBLICATION,

Entitled "A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries," &c.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1817.

Printed by J. Brettell,
Rupert Street, Haymarket, London.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Earl of Selkirk, after his arrival in Canada, at the end of the year 1815, transmitted, upon various occasions, to his friends in England, the details of the first aggressions which had been instigated against the Red River Settlement, and the dispersion of the settlers in the preceding summer. He also subsequently furnished them with the particulars and evidence which had been collected relative to the second destruction of that Colony, in the following year. The information thus received, was not extended beyond a very limited circle in this country; but, in consequence of the repeated misrépresentations made with respect to the occurrences which had taken place at the Red River, and the numerous reports, raised for the evident purpose of injuring Lord Selkirk's character in England, his friends, at length, thought it

advisable to select from the documents in their possession, such materials as seemed to them best calculated to remove the unjust impressions which had been so industriously disseminated.—With this view, the Statement contained in the following sheets was, some time ago, printed and circulated among Lord Selkirk's personal friends, and some other individuals to whom it was thought proper to communicate the facts which it contained. This measure appeared the more requisite, because printed memorials and other documents had been put into active circulation by his opponents.

In adopting, however, even this limited step, they were aware that Lord Selkirk might entertain objections to what, without his knowledge or concurrence, they had thus resolved upon. The documents he had transmitted were only intended for their own information: but, although he could not be aware, that those by whom they were received would give them any degree of publicity, they took upon themselves to adopt such measures as appeared best calculated to protect his character in his absence.

Shortly after the Statement had been thus circulated, a Pamphlet was published in Lon-

don, under the avowed sanction of the Agents of the North-West Company of Montreal, entitled, "*A Narrative of Occurrences in the* "*Indian Countries of North America,*" &c. &c.—a work containing, throughout every part of it, assertions which ought not to be allowed to pass unnoticed. In order, therefore, that the subject may be more generally understood, the Statement has been re-printed with the addition of some documents and information which have been received since its former circulation. To the Statement are also subjoined some Observations* upon the "Narrative of Occurrences," and the whole is now submitted to the unbiassed, and impartial consideration of the Public.

The subject is of higher consequence than the Reader may at first imagine. It includes the important question whether extensive and fertile regions in British North America are ever to become inhabited by civilized society; or whether British subjects, who from the increase of population in their native land, or from other causes of a public nature, are in-

* For these Observations, see page 113.

duced to emigrate to various parts of our foreign possessions in that quarter, are to be totally deprived of the protection of the Mother Country, and excluded from the benefit of the British Laws.

London, June 1817.

STATEMENT, &c.

THE plans of colonization, promoted by the Earl of Selkirk in British North America, have, for some time past, given rise to much, and gross, misrepresentation. More than common pains have been taken, by his opponents, to mislead, and to prejudice, the public;—but such attempts, when the opportunity for strict investigation arrives, can have no other effect than to recoil upon those whose studied object has been to calumniate an individual, and to conceal the truth. It has become therefore extremely desirable that the real circumstances of the case should be better understood, and that, the true nature, and extent, of those extraordinary acts, by which his plans have hitherto been thwarted, should be clearly developed. The facts, contained in the following Statement, cannot fail to throw much light upon the subject. These shall be submitted as concisely as possible, but, at the same time, it appears requisite to trace them shortly from their origin.

In doing so it will not be necessary to enter upon the general subject of the Emigrations from this country to North America; or the views which led the Earl of Selkirk to form that Settlement which has been the object of such enmity and misrepresentation.—His Lordship's sentiments on the general question of emigration have been long before the public; and, since he first drew its attention, in the year 1805. to this important subject, a marked change has taken place, not only in the opinions of many of those who then disagreed with him, but also in the conduct of Government, which has, of late years, afforded every reasonable facility for the conveyance, to our own colonies, of those emigrants (chiefly from Ireland and Scotland,) who were but too much disposed to settle in the United States.

The Earl of Selkirk having, in the year 1811, obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company, a grant of land within the territory bestowed upon them by their Charter, proceeded, in conformity with one of the principal objects of the conveyance, to establish agricultural settlers upon the lands he had so obtained.—The right to the soil, as vested in the Company, and the legality of the grant, were fully supported by the opinions of several of the most eminent counsel in England,—of Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Holroyd, Mr. Cruise, Mr. Scarlett, and Mr Bell*. His Lordship therefore proceeded, without delay, to make the requisite arrangements for the proposed settlement. The Hudson's Bay Com-

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* For these Opinions see Appendix, [A.]

pany, as empowered by their Charter, appointed Mr. Miles Macdonell, formerly Captain of the Queen's Rangers, to be Governor of the district of Ossiniboia, within which the Settlement was to be formed, and the same gentleman was nominated, by Lord Selkirk, to superinted the colony, and take charge of the settlers.

In the autumn of the following year, (1812,) Mr. Miles Macdonell, with a small party, arrived at the spot which had been selected for the Settlement. He immediately proceeded to erect houses, and make every necessary preparation for the arrival of the first detachment of settlers, which was soon expected. The situation which had been chosen for the colony was on the banks of the Red River, (lat. 50° North, long. 97° West of London,) about forty or fifty miles from its entrance into Lake Winipic, and near its confluence with the Ossiniboyne River. At the beginning of the year 1813, the settlement consisted of about an hundred persons. In June 1814, they received an addition of fifty more, and in September following, the total number of settlers, and labourers, amounted to about two hundred. In the course of the same year, between eighty and ninety additional emigrants, from the Highlands of Scotland, arrived at Hudson's Bay, for the purpose of proceeding to the settlement, having been induced to join their friends and relations at Red River, from the favourable accounts which the latter had transmitted to them, of the lands upon which they were settling, and the flattering prospects that awaited them.—This last mentioned party, however, did not arrive at

the Settlement till after it was broken up, for the first time, as shall be noticed in the sequel.

From the commencement of the Red River Settlement until the winter 1814-15, and the following spring, there occurred nothing of any material importance to interrupt the progress of this infant colony*. The difficulties, which were, in some degree, unavoidable at the beginning of an establishment of that nature, were happily got over. The heads of families, as they arrived, were put in possession of regular lots of land, which they immediately began to cultivate;—houses were built; a mill was erected; sheep and cattle were sent up to the settlement; and all practicable means were taken to forward the agricultural purposes of the colony. The spot which had been selected, was ascertained to be of the highest fertility, and of the most easy cultivation. Though woods abounded in the neighbourhood of the plains adjoining the Red River, containing a variety of the finest timber, yet no trees were required to be cut down, or roots to be cleared away, from the lands that were appropriated to husbandry. The expensive and tedious operation of clearing away heavy woods, before the ground can be tilled, (a measure indispensable in most of the new settlements in North America) was totally unnecessary upon the banks of the Red River:—the plough, from the first, met with no obstruction, and the soil proved in the

* It was named the *Kildonan Settlement*, from the name of the parish, in the county of Sutherland, whence the greater part of the settlers had emigrated.

highest degree rich and productive.—The climate had long been ascertained to be equal to that of any part of Canada, and with less snow in the winter. —The river abounded with fish, the extensive plains with buffaloe, and the woods with elk, deer, and game. The hunting grounds of the Indians were not at all interfered with; and, by the terms of the grant, both the grantee, and those who held under him as settlers, were entirely precluded from being concerned in the fur trade. The district indeed had already been almost exhausted of those animals, whose furs are so valuable. The neighbouring tribes of Indians (the Sautoux) proved, from the first, to be friendly and well-disposed. Serious attempts indeed had been made, as early as the spring of 1813, by the clerks and interpreters employed by the fur traders from Montreal, to instigate the natives against the settlers. The Indians were told by these persons that it was intended to deprive them of their hunting grounds, and that, if the establishment at the Red River once obtained a firm footing, the natives would be made slaves of by the colonists.—These attempts to alienate the good will of the natives from the settlers appeared, at first, to have an alarming effect, producing menaces, and jealousy, on the part of their Indian neighbours.—Mr. Miles Macdonell, the governor of the district, soon found means, however, of doing away the unfavourable impressions which had been raised. He held conferences with the Sautoux tribes, and not only succeeded in obtaining the continuance of their friendship, but also the promise of their supreme chief

to encourage the Indians of Lake La Pluie to draw nearer towards the Red River, for the purpose of planting Indian corn, and establishing villages.— From this period the Indians, in the neighbourhood, remained upon the most friendly footing with the colonists, and continued so to the last without interruption. There seemed, therefore, nothing likely to occur which would impede the settlers in their agricultural pursuits, nor were they themselves apprehensive of any molestation. The Earl of Selkirk, at the commencement of the settlement, had sent up some light brass field-pieces, swivels, and musquets, for its protection; and an additional quantity of arms and ammunition, which had been furnished by Government for the defence of the colony, was received there in the summer of 1814.—In short, the settlers appeared confident of their security, content with their situation, and happy in their prospects; nor did there exist any reasonable ground to doubt, that, if left undisturbed, the colony, in a few years, would have been completely and firmly, established. —This indeed, must have been the decided opinion, at the time, even of those who proved to be its most inveterate opponents, otherwise they never would have thought it necessary to take violent means to destroy it. Had the Settlement been likely to fail from causes inherent in its nature, or arising from the remoteness of its situation, or other local circumstances, its enemies, (and none were better judges than they) would doubtless have left it to its fate; and, remaining passive spectators of its destruction, would gladly have permitted the colony to die a natural

death, instead of incurring anxiety, expense, and the risk of the vengeance of the law, by adopting those active measures, to which they resorted, for the purpose of strangling it in its infancy.—By the *enemies* of the Red River colony, I mean the North-West Company of Fur Traders at Montreal, — whose hostility to the settlement, and outrages against their fellow-subjects, have been carried to a pitch so dreadful, as almost to surpass belief.—It may be proper, in a few words, to trace their enmity from its commencement*.

When the question of granting to the Earl of Selkirk an extensive tract of land, within their territory, was first agitated by the Hudson's Bay Company, a general court of Proprietors was called for the purpose of discussing the measure. This meeting was held in May 1811,—and, in order to give the proprietors a further opportunity of making themselves fully informed of the nature of the proposed measure, an adjournment of the court took place; notice, in the mean while, being given to all the stock-holders, that the terms of the proposed grant were left at the Secretary's office for their inspection. At the adjourned general meeting, the proposition was discussed, and adopted. A Memo-

* Although the North-West Fur Traders of Montreal commonly go by the name of a *Company*, they are not a chartered body.—An account of the origin and constitution of this powerful association may be seen in a pamphlet lately published by the Earl of Selkirk, entitled, "A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America," &c. &c.

rial, however, or Protest, was entered against the measure, and signed by six of the proprietors. In perusing this document, a superficial observer would have been led to conclude, that those who protested, had no object so dear to them, as the welfare, and prosperity, of the Hudson's Bay Company. They seemed, with the most friendly attention, to warn the Company of the errors into which they were falling, and the injuries, which would infallibly accrue to them, from the adoption of the measure in question; —above all, they feelingly regretted that those emigrant settlers, who might eventually be established within the district so granted, would be placed "out "of the reach of all those aids and comforts, which "are derived from civil society." The sincerity, however, of these regrets could not fail to appear dubious, when the signatures to the Protest were inspected. Of the six who signed it, three were persons closely connected with, and interested in, the rival commercial concerns of the North-West Company of Montreal; and two of the three were, at the very time, avowed London Agents to that Company. The latter had only become proprietors of Hudson's Bay stock about eight and forty hours before the general meeting last alluded to. They were not indeed possessed of that stock long enough to entitle them to give any vote at the meeting; but their names being now entered in the Company's books,—though the ink was scarcely dry with which they were inserted, —a right, it seems, was thereby conveyed to them to find fault with every thing that was doing, and for-

mally to protest against measures to which the committee of Directors, unanimously, and the general court of Proprietors, by a great majority, and on full deliberation, had given their sanction. As far as these agents therefore were concerned, it was not very unreasonable to view, with suspicion, the alleged grounds of their Protest, as well as the motives of those admonitions which it purported to contain. Their object indeed, in making the purchase, could scarcely be mistaken;—and, however circuitous the proceeding might be, it was evident that they had thus become proprietors of one commercial Company, for the indirect purpose of benefiting another, and a rival, establishment.

With regard to the grounds of this protest, as affecting the subject of the grant to the Earl of Selkirk, it would be an idle task to notice the geographical, and other, blunders with which it abounded. —Had the whole matter of it indeed been confined to that single assertion in which the protesters observe, "Besides, it has been found that colonization is at "all times unfavourable to the fur trade"—it would have disclosed at once, and in substance, the true cause of their alarm. This apprehension with respect to the effect which colonization might produce upon their trade, formed the ground of that hostility, which, even then, became apparent towards the proposed Settlement; and we shall see that the North-West Fur Traders of Montreal did take effectual measures, from the time of this protest, not only to keep all agricultural settlers in Ossiniboia "out

"of the reach of those aids and comforts which are "derived from civil society,"—but that many of them afterwards entered into a regular combination, for the purpose of dispersing the colonists, and destroying every vestige of the settlement.

The plans adopted for this scheme of destruction, appear to have been arranged at the annual meeting of the North-West Company's partners, in the summer of 1814, at their trading post, called Fort William, on Lake Superior*.—Information had, in the course of that season, been transmitted to the Earl of Selkirk, (but which he did not receive till the beginning of the following year,) that serious apprehensions were entertained of hostility from the natives, and that the Indians were likely to make an attack upon the Settlement. This information came from a person whose veracity was above suspicion; and who, although holding an interest in the concerns of the North-West Company, had, much to his honour, determined not to conceal the opinion he entertained on the subject. The suspicions, however, which had arisen with respect to hostility from the Indians, proved, in the result, unfounded.—The attack came from another, but not less savage, description of enemies.

Among the partners of the North-West Company, who received their instructions from the general annual

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* In general, the houses, or trading posts, in the interior of the Indian country, and also in the Hudson's Bay territories, are termed *Forts*, being usually surrounded with stockades for security.

meeting at Fort William, in the summer of 1814, were a Mr. Duncan Cameron, and Mr. Alexander M'Donell; and these appear to have been the persons selected by the partnership, to superintend, and execute, the plans entered into against the Red River colony. Upon the 5th of August in that year, the latter writes to his friend at Montreal, (also a partner of the Company,) from one of the portages lying between Lake Superior, and the place of his winter destination in the interior, and to which he was then proceeding.—This letter, written and signed by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, contains the following passage which speaks a language that cannot be misunderstood:—"You see myself and our mutual friend, "Mr. Cameron, so far on our way to commence open "hostilities against the enemy in Red River.—Much "is expected from us if we believe some—perhaps "too much.—One thing certain, that we will do our "best to defend what we *consider* our rights in the "interior.—Something serious will *undoubtedly* take "place. Nothing but the complete downfall of the "colony will satisfy some by fair or foul means—a "most desirable object if it can be accomplished.— "So here is at them with all my heart and energy."

Mr. M'Donell, and his co-partner, accordingly proceeded towards their destination, and arrived, about the end of August, at a trading post (called by them Fort Gibraltar) belonging to the North-West Company, situated at the Forks, about half a mile from the Red River Settlement.—This station had probably never before been honoured with the regular residence of a partner of the Company; but the

duties now required were, it seems, too important to be entrusted to subordinate agents.—Mr. Duncan Cameron remained at the Forks during the autumn, winter, and ensuing spring. His partner, Mr. Alexander M'Donell, proceeded further into the interior, where he continued until the month of May, when he returned to the Forks, bringing with him a party of the Cree Indians from a considerable distance, for the purpose, as we shall see afterwards, of inducing them to assist in driving away the settlers from Red River

Cameron, to whom his partners appear to have confided the important charge of opposing, upon the spot, the further progress of colonization, seems to have been fitly qualified to perform the service for which he had been selected. He began by ingratiating himself among several of the heads of families at the settlement; and being able to converse with many of them in their native Gaelic tongue, he, by degrees, gained the confidence, and good opinion of the Highlanders.—He frequently invited them to his house, entertained them, and their families, at his table, and treated them in a manner far superior to what they were accustomed to in their own habitations. He took every possible means to secure their favour; and they saw no reason to be suspicious of his intentions towards them. The influence, which he gradually acquired over many of them during the autumn and winter, was artfully exerted to make them discontented with their employments, dissatisfied with their superiors, and doubtful of their prospects at the settlement.—He alarmed them with constant reports, which he stated he had received from the

interior, that the Indians from a distance, were coming in the spring, to attack them; and that, unless they placed themselves under the protection of the North-West Company, and accepted his offers to take them to Canada, they would never be able to escape from the country, or avoid the dangers which surrounded them.—In order to give himself an appearance of superiority and command, he pretended to bear a regular king's commission, ostentatiously wearing an uniform of the *Voyageur Corps;* a short-lived regiment, which had been disbanded two years before.—In his written communications with the settlers he subscribed his name "D. Cameron, Captain, Voya-"geur Corps, Commanding Officer, Red River."—And, in order the better to confirm their belief, he conspicuously placed on the gate of his trading post, a paper purporting to be an order appointing him (Cameron) a captain; his partner, M'Donell, a lieutenant; and one of the North-West Company's Canadian clerks, of the name of Seraphim Lamar, an ensign, in that Corps;—and the order sanctioning these commissions, was stated to have been signed, in August 1814, by Colonel M'Dowal, the commandant at Michillimackinack*.

* The Earl of Selkirk having thought it advisable to ascertain if there existed any foundation for supposing that these persons were entitled to the commissions they assumed, applied some time afterwards, (in March 1816) to Sir Gordon Drummond, then administering the government of Canada, (under the title of Administrator in Chief,) requesting to know whether it appeared that his predecessor, Sir George Prevost, "had given "authority to the commandant at Michillimackinack to issue

This imposture on the part of Cameron, and these assumed airs of trust and importance, which, in other situations, would perhaps have only raised contempt

" commissions to persons in the Upper Country, as officers in the " Voyageur, or any other corps, and the nature and extent of " the authority so granted," adding, " that the inquiry was of " material consequence, as he had the strongest ground to believe, " or rather that he had unquestionable information, that several " persons were at that moment making a very improper use of " the name of his Majesty, under the pretext of some such autho- " rity; and that, for the same reason, he was desirous of learning " the nature and objects of the commissions which appeared to " have been granted to some gentlemen, as *Major des tribus sau-* " *vages, et des pays conquis*."—Sir Gordon Drummond, in reply, informed his Lordship that " having caused research to be made " in the Military Secretary's Office, it did not appear that any au- " thority to issue commissions to persons in the Upper Country, as " officers of the Voyageurs, or any other corps, was, at any period " vested in the officer commanding at St. Joseph, or Michilli- " mackinack; but that a general order of the 10th of May, 1814 " gave to Norman M'Leod, Esq. the rank of Major; a subsequent " general Order of the 29th of May, 1814, the rank of Lieutenant- " Colonel to Mr. M'Gillivray; and the general Order of the 7th " of September following, the rank of Major to Pierre Rochblave, " Esq. in the Indian and conquered countries."

In reply, his Lordship observes, " I have to acknowledge the " honour of your Excellency's letter of the 1st, and to return " my thanks for the very satisfactory information which it con " tains, from which it appears evident, that the persons, who, " under the pretence of being officers in the Corps of Voyageurs, " are taking upon themselves to act in his Majesty's name in the " Indian country, must be considered as mere impostors.—As " the imposture has been carried to a very great length, and has " been made to serve the worst of purposes, I beg leave to submit " to your Excellency, whether some public declaration ought " not to be made by the Provincial Government in order to put

or laughter, were, under the circumstances in which they were resorted to, but too well calculated to mislead the uninformed persons whom it was his object, by every method, to delude, and who had not the means of ascertaining that he was, in no shape, entitled to the rank or authority he pretended to bear. —The settlers concluding that he was, in some manner, sanctioned by Government, naturally put more confidence in his advice, and reliance on his promises, than they otherwise might have done. These promises he dealt out in great profusion. To each of the settlers he engaged to give a free passage to Canada (generally to Montreal), a twelve months'

" an end to so dangerous a delusion. With respect to the gentle-" men who have been commissioned as officers *des pays conquis,* " *et des tribus sauvages,*—I presume that the late Governor-Gene-" ral must have had in view some temporary organization for the " American Territory, which came into our possession by the " capture of Michillimackinack, and the restoration of that " territory at the peace must, of course, have superseded the " whole of these commissions." In place, however, of any further inquiry being instituted, by the Administrator in Chief, for putting a stop to the proceeding complained of, he merely states in his answer to Lord Selkirk, (dated 13th of the same month) that " the public having been already duly apprized by the general " Order of the Governor-in-Chief, dated 12th of March, 1813, " of the reduction and discharge of the late Corps of Voyageurs, " any further declaration on the part of the Provincial Govern-" ment relating to that corps must be deemed unnecessary."—The issuing a General Order in the year 1813, for the reduction of a military corps, and which Order had obviously been disregarded by those who did not wish to yield obedience to it, appears certainly a singular reason for deeming it unnecessary, in the year 1816, to endeavour to enforce it.

provisions gratis for themselves and their families, an allotment to each of two hundred acres of land, and every other encouragement they could hope for. To many of them pecuniary bribes were held out as an inducement to desertion. One of the principal settlers was offered several hundred pounds if he would abandon the settlement with his family, which he refused*. Others of them actually obtained considerable sums on a similar ground. One of them (George Campbell, who was the first to desert from the colony, and proved most active in its subsequent destruction) received one hundred pounds as a reward for his treachery†.—Various other sums were paid to the deserters, or credited in accounts subsequently made up for them in Canada, by the North-West Company.—The labourers and contracted servants at the settlement (generally under engagement for three years service) were also seduced by similar means, with the additional lure of high wages, and great encouragement, in the Canadas. Many of these persons were prevailed upon to desert before the expiration of their contracts, and to carry away with them the implements of husbandry, and working tools, which had been provided for them, and which were afterwards purchased from them by the North-West Company. —It is unnecessary to dwell any longer upon the means adopted by Cameron to seduce the settlers from the Red River, and which, in the result, proved but too successful. Several of them, as has been stated,

* See Appendix, [P.] and [S.] .

† See Appendix, [S.] and also page 32.

joined him in the course of the winter, and most of the others secretly engaged to abandon the settlement in the following spring.

In spite, however, of the success which had thus far attended the secret operations of Mr. Cameron, he knew that there was a considerable party in the colony which was neither to be allured by his arts, nor intimidated by the report of threatened hostility from the Indians. But, as the North-West Company were resolved to adopt no half-measures in putting a stop to colonization, it was necessary for Cameron to have recourse to some more active plan of hostility. Cordially agreeing with his friend and co-adjutor, M'Donell, that "nothing but the complete downfall "of the colony would satisfy some by fair means or "foul;"—like him, he commenced his operations—with "all his heart and energy."

As the native Indians were not to be induced to act hostilely against the settlers, recourse was had to the aid of a lawless banditti, technically termed, in that country, *Metifs*, *Bois Brulés*, or *Half-breeds.*—These are the illegitimate progeny chiefly of the Canadian traders, and others in the service of the North-West Company, by Indian women.—They have always been much under the control of that Company, by whom they are frequently employed as hunters, chiefly for provisions,—an occupation in which they are very expert; hunting and shooting the buffaloe on horseback. The Company also employs them occasionally in other temporary services; and some of them are engaged in their regular employment as clerks, having received, in Canada, an educa-

tion fitted to qualify them for that situation.—Another description of persons was also made use of, who are termed *Free Canadians.* These are principally retired servants and traders of the North-West Company, who have remained in various parts of the interior, and whose services are still occasionally wanted by that Company.—When the colony was first established upon the Red River, these Free Canadians, as well as the Brulés, or Half-breeds, were on good terms with the settlers.—Some of the former had even taken regular lots of land which they began to cultivate, and the latter were occasionally employed by the colonists in hunting for them, and collecting provisions.—But when it was decided that the anathema pronounced in this country against colonization, as being "at all times unfavourable to the fur "trade," was to be carried into effect; and that the settlement was no longer to be allowed to exist, the services of the Half-breeds to the colonists were prevented. They were directed to harrass the settlers by every means in their power, to straighten them in provisions, and to drive the buffaloe from the plains.—From this period, therefore, their hostility to the settlement was as marked as that of their employers, and they subsequently became the principal instruments made use of in promoting its destruction.

To prevent any effectual resistance on the part of the principal officers, and the other settlers, who were not to be seduced by Cameron, it appeared a material object, previous to any attack upon the colony, to get possession of the arms which had been furnished by Government, as well as by the Earl of

Selkirk, for its protection. After several of the settlers, therefore, had deserted, and the greater part of the others appeared ready to join him, Cameron issued the following order, addressed to Mr. Archibald M'Donald, who, in the temporary absence of Mr. Miles Macdonell, had then the charge of the settlement.

"FORKS OF RED RIVER,
"*3rd April*, 1815.

"MR. ARCHIBALD M'DONALD,

"SIR,

"As your field-pieces have already been employed "to disturb the peace of his Majesty's loyal subjects in this "quarter, and even to stop up the King's highway, I have "authorised the settlers to take possession of them, and to "bring them over here, not with a view to make any hostile "use of them, but merely to put them out of harm's way.—"Therefore I expect that you will not be so wanting to your-"selves as to attempt any useless resistance, as no one wishes "you, or any of your people, any harm.

"I am, SIR,
"Your very obedient Servant,
"D. CAMERON,
"*Captain, Voyageur Corps,*
"*Commanding Officer, R. R.*"

"*To Mr. Archibald M'Donald,*
"*Red River Settlement.*"

This singular production was delivered to George Campbell, the most active of those who had previously deserted, and who read it on the Sunday he received it to several of the settlers, after they had been asembled to have a sermon read to them, as usual, on that day.—On the following morning the settlers and servants collected at the store-house to have their

fortnight's allowance of provisions delivered out to them, after which George Campbell, with several others, repaired to the Governor's house in the colony, and formally delivered to Mr. M'Donald the order signed by Cameron; and while Mr. M'Donald and the other principal officers of the settlement were forcibly prevented from leaving the house, by Campbell and his armed party, the store-house was broken open, and the field-pieces, together with the swivels, and a small howitzer, in all nine in number, were seized, and taken out of the store.—A musket was then fired by one of the party as a signal, when Cameron, with some armed men, immediately came out of a lurking-place where he had concealed himself, (with a view, no doubt, of aiding the depredators, should they have stood in need of his assistance,) and joined the party within thirty or forty yards from the store-house. Among the banditti who attended him were two clerks, and an interpreter, in the regular employment of the North-West Company,—*Bois-Brulés,* named Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw, and Peter Pangman, commonly called Bostonois. After Cameron had joined the party who had broken into the store-house, he congratulated them upon the success of their enterprise, and conducted them all, with the guns they had stolen, to his station at the Forks, where the plunder was deposited in the North-West Company's store, and the party regaled by their leader*.

* On Mr. Miles Macdonell's return to the settlement, shortly after this robbery, he granted a warrant to search for, and recover,

After this robbery, those of the settlers, who had, for some time resolved to quit the Red River, deserted to the North-West Company's station at the Forks; many of them carrying with them the Government muskets which had been issued to them, the guns, and arms, which Lord Selkirk had likewise provided, and which, (as well as various other articles, belonging to his Lordship, such as implements of husbandry, &c.) were afterwards purchased by the North-West Company, who could not but have known they were stolen.—One of the labourers belonging to the settlement, who had assisted in breaking open and plundering the store-house, having been apprehended by Mr. Archibald M'Donald, a large armed party, led by George Campbell, together with the North-West Company's clerks and servants, Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw, Bostonois, and Boucher, broke into the governor's house, presented their pistols at Mr. M'Donald, and the other officers of the settlement, and rescued the prisoner. Shaw declared to Mr. M'Donald that this was done by Cameron's order.—

the stolen property; and sent several of the principal settlers, and about twenty persons with them, to the North-West Company's station for that purpose.—Mr. Duncan Cameron would only permit four of the party to enter within the stockades, and upon the warrant being produced, and read to him, he said he would neither allow search to be made, nor the property to be taken; that the guns and other articles were under his charge, and he would take care to keep them.—It was in vain to attempt to execute the warrant, as a number of the servants of the North-West Company were drawn up armed on each side, mostly with muskets and fixed bayonets.

But it would require no such declaration to satisfy any one, that these additional acts of aggression could never have been committed by those in the service of the North-West Company, had they not been directed by their superiors to commit them.

Mr. Miles Macdonell, the governor of the district, returned about this time to resume his charge at the settlement. A warrant to arrest him had been issued some time before by one of the partners of the company, Mr. Norman M'Leod, a magistrate for the Indian territory, on a charge of feloniously taking a quantity of provisions belonging to that Company; but Mr. Macdonell did not think fit to acknowledge the jurisdiction, or yield to the warrant*. In consequence of this refusal, threats were repeatedly made by Cameron, that if he (Mr. Macdonell) was not delivered up by the settlers, or did not surrender himself, the colonists should be attacked.—These threats were partially carried into execution, and several of the settlers were fired at by Cameron's people.

About the middle of May, Mr. Alexander Macdonell, Cameron's partner, arrived at the Forks from his winter station in the interior, and brought down with him a party of the Cree Indians from the River Qui Appelle, several hundred miles further up the country, for the purpose, no doubt, of verifying the predictions of his co-adjutor, who had so often declared to the settlers that the remote Indians were determined to attack them in the spring.—These

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* For an explanation of this transaction, see Appendix, [B.]

Crees were detained for a short time at the Forks, and generally kept in a state of intoxication. While they remained there, about a dozen of the horses belonging to the settlement were shot with arrows in the night-time, but it was supposed they were killed by the Brulés under Cameron's direction, and not by the Indians.—The chief of the party found means to get over, without Cameron's permission, to the settlement, and declared to Mr. Miles Macdonell that, although they had been brought from their own country for the express purpose of assisting in driving away the settlers, he was resolved not to molest them.—The Crees, indeed, seem to have been a somewhat more civilized race than their employers.—They returned to their own country not very well pleased with their errand; but, previous to their departure, they sent the pipe of peace to the colony, as an assurance of their friendship.

About the same period, another, and more formidable, attempt was made to instigate the Indians, from a different quarter, to fall upon the Red River settlement.—A Chippewa Chief of Sand Lake, (near the River St. Louis, which runs into Lake Superior, at the Fond du Lac) has declared before the Council of the Indian Department in Canada, that he was offered, in the spring of 1815, for himself and his people, all the goods at three of the North-West Company's trading posts, if he would go with his warriors down to the Red River settlement, and declare war against the settlers: but he refused*.—The reports, there-

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* See Appendix, [U.]

fore, of threatened hostility from the Indians, so often urged by Cameron to the settlers as an inducement to make them abandon the Red River, do not appear to have been altogether an empty rumour, or entirely destitute of probability; but if there did exist any chance of such attack, it was certainly an act of the most consummate villainy, to rob the settlers of those arms which had been provided for their defence, and to deprive them of the only means left them for their protection against Indian ferocity*.

The servants and others employed by the North-West Company began now to collect in considerable numbers towards the Red River, and these, together with the Half-breeds, and most of the settlers and labourers who had abandoned the colony, formed a camp at some distance down the River, where they mounted some of the guns which they had pillaged from the settlement. Every annoyance was now directed towards the remaining settlers, and measures of active hostility appeared to be preparing against them. The Canadian clerks and servants, together with the Brulés, were occasionally paraded under the immediate inspection of the Company's partners,

* Cameron not only aided, as already mentioned, in plundering the colony, by force, of its means of defence, but availed himself of his assumed commission and authority, to deprive the settlers of their arms.—The following is a specimen of his *orders* for this purpose:—" I do hereby order James M'Kay and George " Sutherland to give up their muskets in the King's name.

(Signed) " DUNCAN CAMERON, V. C."

See Appendix, [N.]

at their station at the Forks; and matters seemed now to be drawing towards a crisis.

On the morning of Sunday, the 11th of June (a day in which it might have been hoped some little rest from their troubles would have been allowed to the harrassed settlers) a number of loaded muskets, together with ammunition, were delivered out of the stores of the North-West Company to their clerks, servants, and followers, for the purpose of an immediate attack upon the colony. Seraphim Lamar (the Voyageur Ensign), Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw, and Peter Pangman Bostonois, formed, as usual, part of this banditti. They marched from the North-West Company's post, and stationed themselves in a small wood adjoining the governor's house, which was the principal building in the settlement. They began their operations by firing a shot at Mr. White, the surgeon, who was walking near the house, but it fortunately missed him. Another shot was at the same time fired at Mr. Bourke, the store-keeper, and the ball passed close to him. A general firing then commenced from the wood, which was returned by those in the house, four of whom were wounded, and one of whom (Mr. Warren) died of his wounds.—After the North-West Company's party had kept up their fire for a considerable time, they returned with Cameron, who, shortly after they had left the Forks, had followed them armed, and who, on their return, congratulated them, with much satisfaction, upon the result of their exploit, and on their personal safety;—a circumstance not very surprising, considering that, during

the attack, they were concealed in a wood, not one of them being visible to those upon whom they were firing.

After this cowardly, and unprovoked attack, it would have been absurd in the remaining officers and settlers of the colony to have supposed they would be permitted to remain in security.—It was given out by Cameron that he was resolved to have possession of Mr. Miles Macdonell, dead or alive; but that if he would surrender himself quietly,—or if the settlers would give him up, all further hostility should cease*.—What was this but an acknowledgment on the part of Cameron, that measures of hostility depended solely upon his will?—At length Mr. Miles Macdonell, at the persuasion of the other officers of the settlement, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, and in the hope of securing the remaining settlers from future violence, surrendered himself to the warrant.—He was soon afterwards carried down to Montreal (about 2,500 miles) to be tried;—but no trial has ever taken place.

The remaining settlers at Red River were, however, much mistaken in supposing that the surrender of Mr. Miles Macdonell was to ensure to them future security.—It was of course a most important object for their opponents to get the principal person of the settlement (and one who also held the appointment, from the Hudson's Bay Company, of governor

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* For a specimen of Mr. Cameron's curious letters to the settlers, see Appendix, [C.]

of the district) into custody; but having once got possession of him, they threw off the mask; and peremptory orders were issued by Cameron, directing the remaining settlers to leave the Red River. These orders were followed up by the most wanton acts of aggression, under the direction of Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who, after Cameron's departure with his prisoner, succeeded to the command at the Forks. The remaining settlers were frequently fired at by his people; the farm-house belonging to the settlement was broken open and pillaged; several of the servants and labourers, quietly employed in tillage, were forcibly seized, and detained as prisoners; the horses were stolen, the cattle driven away, and the bull belonging to the settlement was killed and cut up in the presence of Alexander M'Donell himself. —He also made a sort of battery opposite the settlement, upon which he mounted two of the field-pieces they had stolen, and established a camp of about fifty or sixty of the Canadian servants, clerks, Bois-Brulés, &c &c.—Such were the measures which this partner adopted for defending, as he termed it in his letter of the 5th of August, what the North-West Company considered "their rights in the interior."

Another attack with fire-arms was made upon the governor's house on the 22nd of June; but the fire was not returned by the settlers.—Finding, however, it was vain to look for a cessation of hostility, they determined to quit the settlement, and accordingly informed Mr. Alexander M'Donell that they should be ready to depart in two or three days.—On the

24th of June, two of the Sautoux chiefs, with about forty warriors of that nation, arrived at the settlement. From thence they went to the North-West Company's station at the Forks, and endeavoured to prevail upon Mr. M'Donell to permit the settlers to remain, but without effect. The Indians then expressed their regret that, from the numbers of people whom the North-West Company had collected in the neighbourhood, supported by the field-pieces which had been taken from the colony, they were not able at that time to protect the settlers. They therefore advised them to depart, and offered to give them a safe escort, for themselves and their property, down the river, to Lake Winipic.—This offer was thankfully accepted, and was probably the means of saving the lives, as well as securing the property, of the remaining settlers. For there is very little doubt but that the plunder of the stores, still remaining at the settlement, was held out as a lure to tempt the Half-breeds, and their associates, to the commission of the outrages against it; and that they were prepared to seize all the remaining property by force, as the settlers passed down the river towards the lake. Under their Indian escort, therefore, the officers, and remaining settlers, amounting to about sixty, quitted the settlement, leaving behind Mr. M'Leod, a trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, then stationed at Red River, with two or three men employed in the mercantile concerns of that Company.—Having thus quitted their habitations, they went, in their boats, down the Red River to its mouth, from whence, after taking leave of their

friendly Indian conductors, who expressed an anxious hope that they would be enabled again to return to their settlement, they proceeded to the other end of Lake Winipic, where they stationed themselves at Jack River House, a trading post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.—The day after they had left the settlement, a party of their enemies, composed, as usual, of the North-West Company's clerks, servants, &c. proceeded to the spot, and, setting fire to the houses, the mill, and the other buildings, burnt them to the ground*.

The "complete downfall of the Red River Co-"lony" having been thus accomplished through the agency of the two partners who had been employed to effect it, it will be important to observe how these persons were received by the North-West Company, when they reported to that body, the success of their campaign, and produced to them the proofs of their victory.

They carried down with them, to the annual rendezvous of the partners and agents at Fort William, on Lake Superior, about one hundred and thirty-four settlers, including men, women, and children.—They arrived there about the end of July, and found many of the partners of the North-West Company assembled, who expressed their undisguised satisfaction at the occurrences which had taken place at Red River.—Cameron was highly praised for the steps he had adopted, particularly in carrying off the field-

* See all the Appendix from [D.] to [T.] inclusive.

pieces, and securing the arms: and if any further proof were wanted, of which, however, there is abundance, that the conduct of Cameron and M'Donell was fully approved of by the body of partners then present, it need only be mentioned, that the Company, in place of taking immediate steps to have those two individuals brought to trial, again appointed them to command at the same stations, in the interior; which they had charge of the season before,—and to return to the scenes of their late exertions, doubtless, with the view, of opposing any attempt which might be made to re-establish the colony on the Red River.

But though these marks of approbation were bestowed upon the leading actors in this work of destruction, it would appear that the subordinate agents were by no means so liberally rewarded as they had reason to expect; and that they even complained of being defrauded of their promised hire*. Many of the deserters from the colony, however, and particularly those of the settlers, whose treachery had proved most useful to the North-West Company, were well remunerated for their services. An account-book was regularly opened at Fort William, in which credits were given to forty-eight of these people, for various articles which they had plundered from the settlement, and delivered to Cameron at his trading post.—These consisted chiefly of implements of husbandry, working tools, horses, muskets, guns, pistols, &c. &c.—Thus, in one of these accounts,

* See Appendix, [Q.], near the conclusion.

appears a credit "for five new guns, £10;—for a "new common pistol, 15*s.*;—one old gun, 15*s.*" &c. &c.—At the bottom of those accounts were generally added the sums they were to receive, and did receive, as rewards for their services against the settlement.—Several of these persons thus obtained from the North-West Company larger sums than, in all probability, they had ever been possessed of, at any one period, in the whole course of their lives.—To many of their accounts were also subjoined, in the hand-writing of Cameron, and M'Donell, short abstracts of the services which these deserters had respectively performed in promoting the destruction of the settlement.—For example;—honourable mention is made of one of them (in the hand-writing of Cameron) thus—"This man joined our people in "February, was a great partisan, and very useful to "us ever since, and deserves something from the "North-West Company—say five or six pounds." —Of another (also in Cameron's hand-writing):—"This man was also a great partisan of ours, and "made himself very useful to us; he lost his three "year's earning with the H. B. for joining us, and "he deserves at least about £20."—Of another (in the hand-writing of Alexander M'Donell): "He "was very desperate in our cause this spring, and "deserves three or four pounds," (signed) "A. "M'Donell."—Of another (also in M'Donell's hand-writing): "An active smart fellow.—Left the "H. B. Company in April last—a true partisan, "steady and brave.—Took a most active part in the "campaign of this spring, and deserves from fifteen

"to twenty pounds.—He has lost about £20 by "leaving the Hudson's Bay Co. a month before the "expiration of his contract." (signed) "A. "M'Dónell."—Of another (likewise in M'Donell's hand-writing): "This man left the H. B. Co. in "the month of April, owing to which he lost three "year's wages.—His behaviour towards us has been "that of a true partisan, steady, brave, and resolute "man; and was something of a leading character "among his countrymen, and deserves at least about "£20." (signed) "A. M'Donell."—But the truest of all *true partisans* appears to have been George Campbell. This man was therefore conspicuously honoured, as well as rewarded, by the North-West Company.—He was placed at table in their common hall, at Fort William, next to the partners, and above the clerks of the Company.—But this distinction (enviable as it might be!) was not sufficiently solid for Mr. Campbell.—By the direction of the partnership he received a reward of £100, which was paid to him by one of the Company's clerks. Subjoined to his account with the Company is the following honourable testimony to his merits, under the hand-writing, and signature, of his friend and patron Mr. Duncan Cameron.— "This (Geo. Campbell) is a very decent man, and a "great partisan, who often exposed his life for the "N. W. Co.—He has been of very essential service "in the transactions of Red River, and deserves at "least £100, Halifax; and every other service that "can be rendered to him by the North-West Com- "pany—Rather than his merit and services should go

"unrewarded, I would give him a £100 myself, "although I have already been a good deal out of "pocket by my campaign to Red River.

"DUNCAN CAMERON."

After a perusal of the statements which have been thus submitted, and of the documents referred to in the preceding part of this narrative, no impartial reader, unless he thinks these documents are forged, can hesitate in drawing this conclusion—that from the first knowledge of the Earl of Selkirk's intention to establish a colony at the Red River, the North-West Company of Montreal determined to prevent it; that, in pursuance of this determination, they adopted, both in this country and abroad, such measures as appeared to them best calculated to carry their resolution into effect;—that in doing so, they did not scruple as to the means which were to be employed; —that their hostile operations increased in proportion as the probable success of the settlement became more apparent—and that, at length, they thought fit to instigate those measures of violent aggression against it, which ended in robbery and bloodshed.

These occurrences were at first ascribed, by the North-West Company, to the *native Indians*,—but, as it became obvious that not a single Indian had been concerned in them, they next attributed them to the *Half-breeds;* a race over whom they stated they had no control. Their influence over the Half-breeds, however, is too notorious to be concealed, and upon what description of persons they will next

be driven to shift the blame, it is not easy to conjecture;—but, however remote the scene of these crimes may be,—however great the difficulty of obtaining speedy and effectual investigation;—and, above all, however bold and artful the attempts to misrepresent facts, and conceal the truth,—the public cannot continue much longer to be misled by vague assertions, or blinded by assumed concern at events which persons connected with the North-West Company pretend to have foretold, and which (in all human probability), had they wished, they could have entirely prevented.

It may be recollected, that when the question of establishing a regular agricultural settlement in the Hudson's Bay territories was first agitated, and when the grant to the Earl of Selkirk, for that object, was under discussion, certain individuals, concerned for the North-West Company in this country, stepped forward to express, in the Protest which has been formerly noticed, their humane concern at the distressing situation to which the emigrant settlers in Ossiniboia might be reduced; and anticipated, with much apparent solicitude, the difficulties in which the colonists would be plunged.—But however compassionate the language, which, at that time, was used by the persons concerned for the Company at home, they seem to have been over-matched in fine feeling by the Company's agents abroad.—Let us see how the Honourable Mr. William M'Gillivray, the agent and principal partner of the North-West Company in Canada, and member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Lower Province, expresses

himself to Sir Frederick Robinson, then in the temporary command in Upper Canada, who had applied to him for information with respect to the colonists at Red River.—On the 15th of August, 1815, (shortly after the arrival of the settlers who were brought, by the Company, to Upper Canada, and when it is impossible to suppose that Mr. M'Gillivray, then in that Province, could be ignorant of the real circumstances of the case,) he writes to Sir Frederick Robinson, transmitting a Statement drawn up by him on the subject.—In this Statement he mentions, among other things, that, "the disorder "excited in the country by those acts of violence*, "the disgust given to the settlers by the extensive dis-"advantages of the country, as well as the violence and "tyranny of their leader, and the dread of the natives, "Indians, and mixed breed†, all contributed to break "up the colony.—Some few of the settlers (about "fourteen families) have returned to Hudson's Bay, "and the remainder threw themselves upon the com-"passion of the North-West Company to obtain

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* Alluding to the proceedings of Mr. Miles Macdonell.—See Appendix, [B.]

† In another part of this letter Mr. M'Gillivray talks of these Half-breeds as "being a daring and numerous race, sprung from "the intercourse of the Canadian Voyageurs with Indian women, "and who consider themselves as the possessors of the country, "and lords of the soil."—It was some time ago rumoured that a formal petition had been presented to Government in behalf of these illegitimate Bois-Brulés as "lords of the soil!"—If they have become so, it doubtless must be by right of *conquest*, as even Mr. M'Gillivray will scarcely contend that they hold the lands by right of *inheritance*.

" means of conveyance to Canada.—Some of them " state upon oath that they left their homes in expec- " tation of coming to Canada at once, and were only " told of their actual destination at Stornoway in the " island of Lewis, from whence the embarkation " took place.—Others state, also upon oath, that " they were informed the distance from Red River to " Canada was short, and the communication easy, " so that if they did not like that country, they might " have it in their power to join their friends in " Canada; and others state that they were to go to " Canada by the way of the Red River.—Under " these circumstances, partly from compassion to- " wards these poor people, and partly from a dread " of the consequences of their remaining in the in- " terior, (because, in the event of the Indians attack- " ing them, it was feared that the Hatchet, once " raised, would not discriminate between a trader, " and a settler, but that all the white men in the " country might become its victims,) the North-West " Company has offered these settlers a conveyance to " this Province, and the means of subsistence since " they left the Red River."—&c. &c. &c.—And he concludes his letter to Sir Frederick (in which he forwarded this Statement) by " begging his protec- " tion and favour for the poor settlers."—The writer, however, deceived himself in supposing that the " fourteen families of settlers," alluded to by him, had returned to Hudson's Bay; for, at the very time he was composing his Statement, and pouring out his fine feelings in the answer to Sir F. Robinson's official inquiry, these obstinate, and untractable families

were actually on their way back to their old station on the Red River.—When the two partners of the North-West Company (Cameron, and Alexander M'Donell) had proceeded towards Canada with their followers, these settlers voluntarily returned from the North end of Lake Winipic, to resume possession of their lands, and to re-establish the settlement; and this they did in spite of "the extensive disadvantages of the country," the "indiscriminating hatchet of the Indian," or, what was worse than either, the canting "compassion of the North-West Company."

But we cannot yet part with Mr. M'Gillivray.—In his communication to Sir Frederick Robinson he refers to certain "statements upon oath," of some of the settlers who were brought down to Canada. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that these depositions, whatever they may contain, should be received with the greatest doubt and suspicion.—In the first place, those who were examined, were persons who had been seduced to the commission of crime by partners of the North-West Company, and were then at Fort William, under the control, and at the disposal, of those who had seduced them. In the second place, the persons who specially superintended these examinations, were no other than Mr. Alexander M'Donell, the Company's partner who was so active in their seduction, and Mr. Norman M'Leod, another partner, (and a Magistrate for the Indian territory,) whose activity, of a similar description, will appear sufficiently conspicuous in the sequel.—Besides, before these statements are at all to be attended to, we ought first to be satisfied that none of the persons examined

were of the number of those forty-eight settlers, labourers, and others, whose names appear in the account book made out at Fort William, and which specifies the sums respectively paid to them by the North-West Company, for their services,—as "true partisans," together with the credits allowed them for articles which they had plundered from their employer, and sold to that very Company, of which two of the most active partners were now selected for the purpose of taking these examinations.—The receiver of stolen goods is surely not a fit person to take the examination of the thief!—But this is not all.—There is evidence that while Messrs. Alexander M'Donell, and Norman M'Leod, were thus employed in superintending those examinations, they evinced the greatest anxiety (and naturally enough too) that any circumstances might be discovered which could bring discredit upon the settlement at Red River, or blame on its management:—and there is also evidence that while the examinations were going on, M'Donell received a special written direction from one of the leading partners of the Company, then at the Sault St. Mary, to hasten these depositions, suggesting the expediency of at once getting at something that might throw blame on the Earl of Selkirk; and that he (M'Donell) should endeavour to find out some of the settlers *who could, or would*, swear to circumstances which might have that effect.—What the result of M'Donell's inquiry among the settlers for this object was, does not appear.—He probably succeeded in getting something which he thought would suit the purpose; for he

seems to have been a most indefatigable partner, either in the closet or the field.—Twelve months had not elapsed since we found him transmitting a dispatch to his correspondent at Montreal, that he was, then, by fair means or foul, preparing "to commence "open hostilities against the enemy in Red River," —and now, having obtained the victory, we find him superintending in person, the solemn examinations of his prisoners on oath!—a "true partisan"—equally prepared to pursue his object with the Testament, or the tomahawk.

In a former part of this Statement, it has been mentioned that the Earl of Selkirk had received information, in the beginning of the year 1815, that it was suspected the Indians were likely to make an attack upon the Red River settlement; and, although the specific ground of that suspicion had not been communicated, he lost no time in applying to Government for some military aid and protection. By affording to the colony, in its infancy, a small portion of such assistance, there was every reason to believe that, in a very short time, it would have become able to protect itself. But it will appear obvious, that the Provincial Government refused to give the protection, without having instituted a sufficient inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining if it was expedient to grant it.

In order to support his settlers by his personal exertions, the Earl of Selkirk went to America, in the autumn of the year 1815.—On his arrival at New York, in his way to Canada, he received intelligence of the dispersion of the colonists, and the destruction

of the settlement. He proceeded immediately to Montreal, where he soon learnt that the Indians had no concern whatever in the transaction, and he adopted, without delay, the requisite steps to obtain substantial evidence with respect to the acts which had taken place, and the persons by whom they were committed. —The settlers who had been brought down to Canada, were now dispersed in both Provinces, and many of them in great distress.—That distress was ascribed to his Lordship, as a matter of course, and not to those who had first seduced, and then abandoned them.—The North-West Company had no further use for their services;—the expense of bringing them down to Canada had already proved sufficiently burthensome;—and, of course, the splendid promises made at the banks of the Red River, of lands in the Canadas, high wages, great encouragement, &c. &c. were all forgotten on the shores of the St. Lawrence. —But it is not unworthy of remark, that no sooner was it understood that Lord Selkirk was proceeding to York, in Upper Canada, for the purpose of carrying on his inquiries, than rations of provisions were ordered to be issued, by the North-West Company's agent there, to those of the settlers who had been brought down to that place, and who had not obtained employment.

Numerous affidavits were now taken, upon Lord Selkirk's application, before various magistrates, both in Upper and Lower Canada.—Many of the settlers, labourers, and others, who had belonged to the Red River colony, and who had been brought away by the North-West Company, were themselves

examined. In addition to the evidence thus obtained, depositions had been taken (and sent to England by the way of Hudson's Bay) of those officers and settlers, who, remaining true to their engagements, had refused to come down to Canada.—These depositions, together with other proofs, which had been obtained, formed so strong a chain of evidence, as to leave little doubt who the persons were, by whom the acts of violence had been instigated, and committed.

While occupied in these important investigations, Lord Selkirk received information that the Red River Colony had been again re-established; and that the body of settlers, which had withdrawn to the North end of Lake Winipic, had returned to the settlement, after Cameron and Alexander M'Donell, with their followers, had left the Red River.—On the receipt of this intelligence, Lord Selkirk dispatched a messenger into the interior, for the purpose of giving notice to the settlers of his arrival in America; and of his intention, as soon as the river navigation was open in the spring, to join them at the settlement with every means he could obtain, to secure their protection:—but the messenger he sent was waylaid, and robbed of his dispatches*.

* These letters were entrusted to a person, named Lagimoniere, whom Lord Selkirk could depend upon, and who had made a hazardous winter journey on foot of upwards of two thousand miles, for the purpose of bringing intelligence to Montreal, from the Red River, of the re-establishment of the colony. With respect to his being robbed, on returning to the interior, see the Declaration of the Chipewa Chief, before the Council of the Indian Department, in the Appendix, [U.]—Lagimoniere was

Reports began now to be circulated of the probability of renewed aggression against the colony in the spring.—It was not very likely indeed that the opponents of colonization would sit tamely down, and permit the agricultural pursuits of the settlers to revive at Red River, without some attempts to prevent them.—In addition to their original inveteracy, they were probably not a little irritated at the resolution evinced by the colonists, in endeavouring to re-establish the settlement after their former dispersion: —And it was therefore not doubted in Canada, by those most likely to be best informed, that another attempt would be speedily made to destroy it.

waylaid in the night-time, near the Fond du Lac Superior, by some Indian hunters (employed for the purpose by the North-West Company,) who beat him in a shocking manner, and plundered him of his dispatches, his canoe, and every thing it contained.—The order to intercept him was issued from Fort William on the 2nd of June, 1816, by Mr. Norman M'Leod. "The "intention of this express," says this magistrate in writing to his partner at Fond du Lac, "is to tell you that Lagimoniere "is again to pass through your Department on his way with "letters to Red River. As a precautionary measure, he must "absolutely be prevented proceeding, or forwarding any letters. "He and the men along with him, and an Indian guide he has, "must all be sent, with their budget, to this place, here to await "the result of future proceedings. It was a matter of astonish-"ment to many, how he could have made his way last fall through "Fond du Lac Department.—This, no doubt, you will be able "satisfactorily to explain." The Indians who performed the service were credited in the books of the North-West Company, with the sum of one hundred dollars. Several of the letters, in Lord Selkirk's hand-writing, have been since found among some loose papers at Fort William.

The Earl of Selkirk again endeavoured, by every means in his power, to procure some small military protection for the settlers; but his application to Sir Gordon Drummond, (who then administered the Government of Canada) was unsuccessful;—and his endeavours seem to have been equally fruitless to learn the reasons of the refusal.—In making this assertion, however, it is requisite to state the ground upon which it is founded.

In the months of March, and April, 1816, when numerous reports were in circulation, in Canada, of the intended renewal of hostility against the Red River Colony, an official correspondence, of very considerable length, took place between Sir Gordon Drummond, and the Earl of Selkirk. It appears that the latter, having collected much evidence from various quarters, with respect to the attack upon the settlement in the former year, was preparing to have the proofs submitted to the Provincial Government. The object of laying that body of evidence before his Excellency, was to point out the description of persons who had instigated the former aggressions, and to shew that, from the same quarter, a renewal of the outrages might be looked for. In a letter to Sir Gordon Drummond, of the 11th March, 1816, his Lordship, among other things, says,

"I beg leave to observe, that I consider this matter," (namely a small escort which he had requested for his personal security in going to the interior,) "as totally distinct "from the permanent protection to be afforded to the settlers "on Red River, in pursuance of Lord Bathurst's instructions "to your Excellency of March last.—I have to remind your

" Excellency of my letter of November 11th, to which no
" final answer has yet been given.—But I forbear to press
" for an immediate decision on that subject, as I shall soon
" have occasion to lay before your Excellency some very
" important documents, containing evidence which has come
" to my knowledge since the period I refer to;—evidence
" which must remove every shadow of doubt as to the pro-
" priety of an immediate compliance with the instructions
" in question."

Sir Gordon Drummond, in his reply to this part of the subject, says,

" I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, that having,
" upon a full consideration of the subject, and after an at-
" tentive perusal of the numerous documents relating to it
" which have passed through my hands, declined a compli-
" ance with a requisition which was made to me for a mi-
" litary detachment to be permanently stationed for the
" protection of your Lordship's settlement on the Red
" River; and having fully stated to Earl Bathurst my rea-
" sons for this refusal, I cannot consent to take any steps
" which I consider at variance with that decision, until I
" am furnished with the further and more specific instruc-
" tions of his Majesty's Government, to whom I have referred
" on the subject.—Having distinctly stated this in the con-
" versation which I had the honour to hold with your Lord-
" ship at the time that you placed in my hands your letter
" of the 11th, November, I had not apprehended that your
" Lordship would have expected any further answer to that
" letter, or otherwise, I have to assure your Lordship that it
" should not have been for a moment withheld."

Lord Selkirk, in his answer to Sir Gordon Drummond, observes,

" With respect to my letter of November 11th, and the

" conversation which I had the honour of holding with your " Excellency, on the subject of military protection for the " settlers on Red River, I certainly did not understand you " to express a determination so absolute, that no change " could be made upon it, even by a change of circumstances, " or by the discovery of facts of primary importance, pre- " viously unknown to you. To justify such a resolution, " thus unalterable, I cannot doubt that your Excellency " must have reasons of a more decisive nature than any " which I can recollect you to have stated in conversation; " and as your Excellency has expressed your intention of " communicating to the North-West Company your mo- " tives for allowing a personal escort for myself, I trust, " that, in like manner, I may receive an explanation of the " reasons which induce you to withhold from the settlers " that protection which his Majesty's Government had con- " sented to allow."

Some time afterwards, the subject was again pressed upon Sir Gordon Drummond, as appears by the following letter addressed to him by Lord Selkirk:

" MONTREAL, *April* 23*rd*, 1816.

" SIR,

" In referring to the letters which I have had oc- " casion of late to address to your Excellency, it appears that " I have not fully informed you of the re-establishment of the " settlement on Red River, which took place last autumn; " little more than two months after its destruction appeared " to have been accomplished.—Your Excellency has been " apprized that a part of the settlers refused to enter into " the views of the North-West Company, and, when over- " powered by superior numbers, retired towards Hudson's " Bay;—But as soon as the ruffians, who had been assem- " bled from various quarters to attack them, had dispersed, " these settlers returned to Red River, followed by a consi-

" derable reinforcement of people who had recently arrived " from Europe. At the date of the last advices, in October, " they were living on the best terms with the Indians and " half-Indians in their neighbourhood, and were under no " apprehension of any enemies but those which they ex" pected to be again excited against them by the malice of " the North-West Company.

" Your Excellency has not condescended to inform me " of the grounds on which you had refused to comply with " Lord Bathurst's instruction 'to give such protection to " 'the settlers at Red River, as could be afforded without " 'detriment to his Majesty's service in other quarters," " and it is not improbable that you may have been influ" enced by the idea of the settlement having been totally " and irrecoverably destroyed.—I think it my duty, there" fore, to inform your Excellency of the real state of the " fact, and at the same time to point out the probability " that the same persons who plotted the destruction of the " settlement last year, will make another attempt upon it " this spring; encouraged by the knowledge of the deter" mination which your Excellency took last summer, not to " send any military force for the protection of the settlers.

" Though I have not been distinctly informed of the " grounds of that determination, I have received important " hints as to some reasons which appear to have had weight " with your Excellency.—So far as these are known to me, " I can pronounce with confidence, that they are founded " on misinformation, and can pledge myself to bring satis" factory proof to this effect.

" When I had the honour of seeing your Excellency in " November, I understood you to be apprehensive, that " the employment of a military force at Red River would " be viewed with jealousy by the Indians.—I also understood " that you had doubts as to the expense of sending troops " there; and I have been informed by the last letters which " I have received from London, that, in a communication

" from your Excellency to Lord Bathurst, it had been stated " to be altogether impracticable to convey troops to that " country.—If these are the objections which still weigh " with your Excellency, I can have no doubt that they may " be removed.

" With respect to the Indians, I have, from unquestion-" able authority, such positive information of their favour-" able dispositions, that I cannot entertain a doubt of his " Majesty's troops being received as friends and protectors, " by the Indians as well as the settlers; so that nothing but " ordinary discretion, on the part of the officers, can be " requisite for maintaining harmony. So confident am I " on this point, that if your Excellency will allow a com-" pany of soldiers to be sent up, and will entrust the selection " of the officers and men to Colonel Darling, I will take " upon myself the entire responsibility, if any such bad " consequences (as I conceive your Excellency to appre-" hend) should arise on the part of the Indians*.

" With respect to the difficulty, and expense, of con-" veying the men, I am ready on that point also to relieve " your Excellency of all the trouble and responsibility. All " that I ask is your authority for the Commissary General " here to issue out of his stores, such articles as may be

* The Earl of Selkirk was wrong in supposing that the Governor of Canada could have adopted, with propriety, any measure within his government, upon the responsibility of his Lordship, or of any other private individual whatever. The responsibility must of course have rested with the person administering the government. The circumstance, however, tends to shew how anxious Lord Selkirk must have been to protect the colonists from the sanguinary attack which, he was so well assured, would take place; and that, if any blame should eventually occur, (in consequence of military protection being granted as a measure of precaution) that he wished none of that blame should attach to any one but himself.

" required for the outfit, and supply of the expedition,—
" leaving it to his Majesty's Government at home to decide,
" whether these articles are to be allowed as for the public
" service or not; and, in the event of their not being allowed,
" I will be responsible that these articles shall be either re-
" placed, or paid for, as may be desired.

" The only other difficulty, of which I have ever heard a
" surmise, is, that the officer in command might be placed
" in embarrassing circumstances, as to the proper line of
" his duty, if called upon to support the civil magistrate,
" in the event of disputes between the different persons who
" claim authority.—I flatter myself that this difficulty will
" soon be obviated by a reference to the opinion of the At-
" torney and Solicitor General of England as to the claims in
" dispute.—In the mean time, I conceive that your Excel-
" lency ought to refer the question to the Attorney-General
" of the Province, and that if his opinion be taken as a guide,
" the officer in command will certainly be exonerated from
" all responsibility.

" In your Excellency's letter to me of the 15th ultimo, I
" am informed that, having stated to Lord Bathurst your
" reasons for refusing to send a military detachment to Red
" River, you could not take any other step, till you should
" receive farther instructions. I beg leave, however, to ob-
" serve, that this determination, having been communicated
" to Lord Bathurst previously to my letter of Nov. 11th,
" must have been grounded altogether on the information
" derived from the North-West Company; for, at that
" date, no information at all had been laid before your Ex-
" cellency on my part, or that of the Hudson's Bay Com-
" pany, of a later date than February 1815. At that period
" we could only state grounds of apprehension, as to the
" intention of our enemies. Since my arrival in this Pro-
" vince, I have collected most decisive evidence as to the
" conduct actually pursued by them—evidence which must
" have been entirely unknown to your Excellency at the

" date of your communication to Lord Bathurst; and even " now you are not in possession of one-tenth part of the facts " which I can undertake to prove.—In my letter of 11th " ultimo I offered to lay the evidence before your Excel- " lency, and your reply gave me to understand, that it was " too late to be taken into consideration.

" I presume, however, that the instructions given by " Lord Bathurst in March 1815, have never been recalled; " and till they are positively and explicitly recalled, I con- " ceive that it remains in your Excellency's discretion, to " act upon them if you see fit; and that you cannot be " precluded from the exercise of that discretion, by any " determination which you may have expressed, while you " were under an erroneous impression as to the real state of " the facts, or while the circumstances of the case were " different from those which now exist. The re-establish- " ment of the settlement, and the probability of a renewal of " hostile attacks against it, call loudly for a revisal of your " determination. The occurrences of last summer prove, " beyond all possibility of doubt, that the countenance of " the public force is necessary for the protection of the " settlers against the lawless violence of their enemies; and " the instructions which your Excellency received last year " from Lord Bathurst cannot leave any doubt as to the " intentions of his Majesty's Government to afford pro- " tection, and not to abandon the settlers to their fate, as if " they were out of the pale of the British Empire.—If, " however, your Excellency persevere in your intention to " do nothing, till you receive farther instructions, there is a " probability, almost amounting to a certainty, that another " season must be lost, before the requisite force can be sent " up;—during another year the settlers must remain ex- " posed to attack, and there is every reason to expect that in " consequence of this delay, many lives may be lost.

" That this calamity can only be averted by the means " pointed out in Lord Bathurst's instructions, and that no

"reasonable objection lies against that measure, are "points of which your Excellency cannot fail to be convinced upon a careful re-examination of the subject, when "you have the whole evidence before you, and can bestow "equal attention on both sides of the question.

I have the honour to be,

"&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "SELKIRK.

"*To His Excellency*
"*Sir Gordon Drummond,*
"*&c. &c. &c.*"

In answer to this letter, his Lordship received the following reply from Sir Gordon Drummond:—

"*Castle St. Lewis,*
"QUEBEC, 27*th April,* 1816.

"MY LORD,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your "letter of the 23rd instant, and regret extremely to find that "your Lordship deems it necessary to urge me on a point "to which I have already so fully and so candidly replied.

"I trust that the communication which I made on the "25th instant, both to your Lordship and to the partners "of the North-West Company, will have the desired effect "of preventing a repetition of the mutual proceedings and "outrages which have been made the subject of complaint "to his Majesty's Government, and which were so strongly "denounced in the dispatch of Earl Bathurst, cited in the "above communication.

"I have the honour to be,

"&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "GORDON DRUMMOND.

"*Earl of Selkirk.*"

The following was the letter (of the 25th of April) referred to by Sir Gordon Drummond in his abovementioned communication, and the answer to which is also subjoined: —

" CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS, QUEBEC,
" *25th April*, 1816.

" MY LORD,

" Having received from my Lord Bathurst a dispatch, " in which his Lordship acquaints me that many com- " plaints had been made to him of the violent proceedings, " and mutual outrages, of the servants of the North-West, " and Hudson's Bay Companies, in the remote parts of his " Majesty's North American dominions, which, if persevered " in, may ultimately lead, not only to the destruction of " the individuals concerned, but of others of his Majesty's " subjects; I am, therefore, in obedience to his Lordship's " commands, to desire that your Lordship will, without loss " of time, inculcate on these servants and agents of the " Hudson's Bay Company, who may be under your control, " or within your influence, the necessity of abstaining from " a repetition of those outrages which have been lately so " frequent a cause of complaint; and I am to convey to " your Lordship the determination of his Majesty's Govern- " ment to punish, with the utmost severity, any person who " may be found to have caused or instigated proceedings so " fatal to the tranquillity of the possessions in that quarter, " and so disgraceful to the British name.

" I am to acquaint your Lordship that a similar com- " munication has been made to Mr. M'Gillivray, as one of " the principal partners of the North-West Company.

" I have the honour to be,

" &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) " GORDON DRUMMOND.

" *Earl of Selkirk.*"

"Sir,

"I have to acknowledge the honour of your "Excellency's letter of the 25th, communicating the receipt "of a dispatch from Lord Bathurst relative to the com- "plaints which have been made to him of violent pro- "ceedings between the servants of the North-West, and "Hudson's Bay Companies.

"It gives me very great pleasure to learn that his Ma- "jesty's Government are at length determined to punish "the authors of these outrages.—I shall not fail to commu- "nicate your Excellency's letter, not only to the persons "in my own employment, but also to the servants of the "Hudson's Bay Company, with whom I have any corre- "spondence.—At the same time, I must be permitted to "observe, that the uniform tenor of my own instructions "has been exactly conformable to that which Lord Bathurst "now inculcates; and this has also been the case as to the "instructions given by the directors of the Hudson's Bay "Company to their servants.—Of this I can speak of my "own certain knowledge for the last six years, and I have "every reason to believe that the case was the same before "that time.—I must also take the liberty of observing, "that the Hudson's Bay Company are possessed of ample "materials to prove that the outrages which Lord Bathurst "speaks of have not been 'mutual,' but all on one side.— "As, however, the proof of this assertion may require an "investigation of some length, I beg leave to point out two "very obvious considerations of probability, of which, "Lord Bathurst cannot fail to perceive the force.

"In the first place, the establishment of men in the "service of the Hudson's Bay Company, does not amount "to one-third of the number employed by the North- "West Company.—Whether is it most probable that a "system of aggression and violence should originate with "the weaker party, or with the stronger?

"In the second place, your Excellency is aware, that,

"for more than a year past, it has been the anxious wish "of the Hudson's Bay Company, that a party of troops "should be stationed in these parts of his Majesty's "dominions for the purpose of preserving the peace.—Is it "probable that such an application should come from a "body of men who are disposed to encourage their servants "in acts of violence and outrage?

"I have the honour to be,

"&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "SELKIRK."

"*His Excellency*
"*Sir Gordon Drummond.*"

After a perusal of the Documents above referred to, can there exist a doubt that the Earl of Selkirk made every exertion in his power to warn the Provincial Government of the apprehended renewal of those outrages which had caused the destruction of the Red River settlement in the year 1815?—Is it not obvious that he not only pointed out the evil, but suggested the remedy? and that, in doing so, he had not forgotten to consider the most likely means of securing, from subsequent blame, those individuals who might be appointed personally to assist in protecting the colonists, and keeping the peace?

From the letters, however, which he received from the Provincial Government, it may be collected, that the measures of precaution which had been applied for, were not only refused, but that a determination had been made not to communicate to him the grounds of the refusal. The Governor, or person administering the government, of Canada, no doubt, had a right to give, or to withhhold, the reasons of his dissent.—He might think it was sufficient that he had communicated them,

the year before, to his Majesty's Government.—But, as a candid communication of the grounds of his former decision might eventually have been the means of his becoming better informed;—and as, at all events, the consideration of the additional evidence which was offered by the Earl of Selkirk, could not have made him less master of the subject,—it is difficult to guess what just reason can be assigned for the refusal.—The dispatch from the Secretary of State, conveying the determination of his Majesty's Government (as stated in Sir Gordon Drummond's letter of the 25th of April), to punish, with the utmost severity, those persons who were found to have caused, or instigated, the proceedings in question, surely required from the Provincial Government, an immediate, and a rigid, inquiry. How could the persons be punished until they were known? and, perhaps, the very last person in Canada, whom Sir Gordon Drummond ought to have requested to guide him in the search, was the individual upon whom, it would appear, he chiefly, if not exclusively, relied for information.—Whatever might have been the private opinion which he entertained of the chief agent of the North-West Company, that agent was surely not the proper channel through which information ought principally to have been sought for upon matters in which the Company itself appeared to be so deeply implicated.—Delicacy even towards Mr. M'Gillivray himself, ought, certainly, to have prevented the question from being put to him. It is not meant, in the slightest degree, to insinuate that the Provincial Government, in thus applying to the

principal agent of that Company, had any doubt whatever but that accurate information would be thereby obtained. Mr. M'Gillivray was among the highest in point of rank within the province, and a member of the Council; and, in applying to him, Sir Gordon Drummond, without doubt, concluded he was directing his inquiries to one who was enabled, from his situation, to assist him on the subject.—But, if he resolved to consult him, he ought to have consulted him along with others, and not to have remained satisfied with the answers exclusively given by an agent of that body against which such heavy charges had been made, and officially submitted, to his Majesty's Government.

That Sir Gordon Drummond did, from the first, rest satisfied with such answers as the principal agent for the North-West Company chose to communicate, can scarcely be doubted by any one who will peruse the following letter addressed, by his Excellency's direction, from the adjutant-general at Quebec, to the Earl of Selkirk's agents at Montreal, previous to his Lordship's arrival in Canada.

QUEBEC, 12th July, 1815.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Referring to my letter to you of the 8th ultimo. "inclosing a copy of a communication proposed to be made "to Mr. M'Gillivray, containing certain queries relative to "the danger with which the settlers on Red River are sup-"posed to be threatened from the hostility of the Indians, "instigated by the servants of the North-West Company, "I am directed by Sir Gordon Drummond to acquaint you "that that letter has been answered by Mr. M'Gillivray in

"such a manner as would have removed from his Excel-
"lency's mind all traces of any impression unfavourable
"to the honourable character, and liberal principles, of the
"heads of the North-West Company, had any such im-
"pression existed.

"On a full consideration, however, of the statements, "and documents, now before him, Sir Gordon Drummond "is of opinion, that if the lives and property of Lord "Selkirk's settlers are, or may hereafter be, endangered, "that danger will arise principally from the conduct of "Mr. Miles Macdonell, his Lordship's agent, who appears "to his Excellency to be actuated by any thing but a spirit "of moderation or conciliation in his language and de-"meanour towards the servants of the North-West Com-"pany. He has moreover assumed powers which cannot "possibly, in his Excellency's opinion, have been vested "in him, or in any agent, public, or private, of any indivi-"dual, or of any chartered body*.—The legality, however, "or otherwise, of the proclamations issued by Mr. Miles "Macdonell (copy of two of which are enclosed) will of "course be determined in a court of law in Great Britain, "to which they have, very properly, been referred by the "North-West Company†. The papers which accompanied "your letter are herewith returned, copies having been

* How far Sir Gordon Drummond's legal opinion ought to have weight with respect to the powers, and commission, held by Mr. Miles Macdonell, as a governor in one of the Hudson's Bay Company's Establishments, under the specific provisions of a Royal Charter, it is not requisite to inquire. At all events he appears to differ from Mr. Justice Holroyd, Sir Samuel Romilly, and the other English lawyers, whose names appear in the Appendix, [A.]

† No such reference to any court of law in Great Britain, has ever been heard of.

" retained for transmission to the Secretary of State, before " whom it has been his Excellency Sir Gordon Drum- " mond's endeavour, to place the whole case, as fairly and " fully as possible.

" I have the honour to be,

" Gentlemen,

" Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) " J. HARVEY."

" *Lieut.-Col. &c. &c.*"

" *Messrs. Maitland, Garden, and Auldjo.*"

If this letter should not be deemed sufficient to establish the fact of the Provincial Government having been fatally led to rest satisfied with the information obtained from those who were connected with the parties accused, the perusal of another one from the same quarter, (written a few weeks previous to that above quoted,) and addressed to the Honourable Mr. William M'Gillivray, will probably remove any doubt which may remain on the subject. This document, although it appears to have been of a confidential nature, was officially made use of by one of the leading Partners and Agents of the North-West Company, and transmitted, by him, to his Majesty's Government, in the month of June, 1815.

" QUEBEC, *June 14th*, 1815.

" CONFIDENTIAL.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" Sir Gordon Drummond has received a commu- " nication from high authority, desiring him to make in- " quiry into the foundation for a strong degree of alarm " which appears to be entertained by the Earl of Selkirk, " and the Hudson's Bay Company, for the safety of their

" settlers on Red River, in consequence of an idea which " had been instilled into their minds by persons resident " in Canada, that the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood " of that settlement have been instigated to commit the " horrid and atrocious act of attempting the destruction of " the whole population of that settlement.

" I must not conceal from you that some of the servants " of the North-West Company are suspected of being con-" cerned in this diabolical act. Sir Gordon Drummond " however feels that he cannot more strongly evince the " high respect which he entertains for the head of that " most respectable body, and his perfect confidence in " their candour and liberality of sentiment, than by the " course which he has not hesitated to adopt of applying " himself direct to them for the information which they " assuredly possess the best means of affording, and which " his Excellency is equally assured they are too honourable " and conscientious to withhold.

" I am commanded therefore to ask you if there exists " in your opinion any reasonable grounds for believing that " the atrocity alluded to is in the contemplation of the " Indians in question, or that the safety of the persons, or " property, of the settlers on the Red River is endangered " from the causes above referred to?

" Whatever may be the answer to this query, I am com-" manded to remind you, that the powerful body of which " you are the head, far more than the government of these " provinces, possess the means of influencing the actions " of these remote tribes of Indians with whom they alone " hold an intercourse, whose wants they alone supply, and " whose conduct they alone can control.

" The North-West Company, therefore, will be con-" sidered responsible in the eye of the world, as well as in " those of his Majesty's Government, for any such horrid " catastrophe as I have alluded to, whether arising from " the instigations of their subordinate agents, or from the " influenced malignity of the Indians themselves.

"Sir Gordon Drummond feels assured that by this "appeal he has more effectually provided for the safety of "his Majesty's subjects inhabiting the shores of Hudson's "Bay, than it would be in his power to do by any other "measure whatever.

"His Excellency being ill-provided with maps or charts "of that remote part of his Majesty's dominions, in which "the Red River is situated, has directed me to request that "you will favour him with the loan for a short time of any "good one which may be in your possession*.

(Signed) "J. HARVEY."

"*The Honourable*
"*William M'Gillivray.*"

Upon these documents it is not necessary to make any comment. Sir Gordon Drummond evidently thought he was thus adopting a step, which would enable him to give the information required by his Majesty's Government.—That it was his wish to learn the truth, and to avert the danger, is apparent. At the same time it is obvious that he was much in error; which has been but too clearly and fatally proved, by the lamentable consequences which ensued.

No hope being now entertained of obtaining military protection for the Settlement,—a circumstance soon afterwards occurred, which appeared to afford, to the Earl of Selkirk, an opportunity not only of procuring a body of efficient settlers for the colony, but of materially adding to its strength and security.

* See the letter, in which the document (above cited) was officially transmitted to the Secretary of State, in Appendix, [D.D.]

In consequence of the peace with America, the regiments of De Meuron, Watteville, and the Glengary Fencibles in Canada, were reduced. The privates, as well as the officers, were entitled, on their discharge, to have lands assigned them in the Canadas, in which case the men (of the two first mentioned regiments) were not to be brought home to Europe. Nearly two hundred of the Meuron Regiment remained in America, and of these about eighty, together with four gentlemen who had been officers in the regiment, instead of remaining in Canada, preferred going to the Red River settlement with the Earl of Selkirk. His Lordship entered into regular written agreements with each of these men, in like manner as he had done with his other settlers, and labourers at the colony.—They were to be paid at a certain rate per month for navigating the boats up to Red River;—were to have lands assigned to them at the settlement;—and, if they did not chuse to remain there, they were to have a free passage back to Montreal; or, if they preferred it, were to be conveyed, at his Lordship's expense, to Europe, by the way of Hudson's Bay. Besides the discharged soldiers of the regiment of Meuron, there were about twenty of that of De Watteville, who engaged on similar terms. A few of the Glengary Fencibles, with one of their officers, also joined him. When these men were discharged, they were no longer soldiers. They retained their clothing, as is usual in such cases, and Lord Selkirk furnished them with arms, as he had done to his other settlers,—a measure which Government itself had more than sanctioned in the year 1813, having ordered the

Board of Ordnance, at that time, to issue some small field-pieces, and a considerable number of muskets, and ammunition, for the use of the Red River colony. —Much obloquy has been thrown upon the Earl of Selkirk by his opponents, for having entered into engagements with these discharged soldiers, but it is not easy to discover the grounds of their censure. These men had an undoubted right to enter into such agreements with the Earl of Selkirk, and the latter had an undoubted right to enter into contracts with them. The Provincial Government was apprised by his Lordship of the measure he was adopting, and of his views with respect to these people.—With this body of men, therefore, as an addition of strength to his settlement, Lord Selkirk proceeded towards the interior, in confident hopes that he would arrive at the Red River before any renewed aggression was directed against the colony:—but in this he was disappointed.

When he reached the Falls of St. Mary, between Lakes Huron and Superior, a party of his people, which had been forwarded from Montreal in light canoes, that they might arrive at the Red River with all possible dispatch, fell back, and, brought him intelligence that the settlement was again destroyed. They stated, in addition, that many of the settlers, together with Mr. Semple, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, who happened to be there at the time, and also several others in the service of that Company, had been killed. Those who brought this intelligence had not reached so far as the Red River; for, having been informed, about the en-

trance of Lake Winnipic, that the colony was broken up, and the settlers dispersed, they had thought it needless to proceed.—Their account was vague, but, at the same time, there was no reason to doubt that the lamentable event, so reported, had actually taken place. It was also asserted, that several of the settlers, and others, had been brought down from the Red River as prisoners, by the North-West Company, and were detained in custody at their trading post at Fort William. Previous to this intelligence, Lord Selkirk had no intention whatever to go to that place. The route he had fixed on lay quite in a different direction, namely by the Fond du Lac (at the upper, or West, end of Lake Superior) the River St. Louis, and the Red Lake, at which place he had sent directions that boats and provisions from the colony on Red River should meet him, and his new settlers. He had even dispatched, from the Falls of St. Mary, the boats with his people, to proceed along the South shore of Lake Superior, so as to avoid all collision with the North-West Company's establishments, and intended to follow them in his own canoe, when the intelligence was communicated to him of the destruction of the settlement.—Finding, therefore, that the colonists were dispersed, and the settlement destroyed, he was, of course, prevented from proceeding in the direction he intended; and he resolved to go to Fort William, and demand the release of those who were in custody, or ascertain the grounds of their detention.

The difficulty and distress in which he was placed will, perhaps, be best seen in the account which his

Lordship dispatched (from the Falls of St. Mary, 29th July), to Sir John Sherbrooke, who had recently been appointed Governor in Chief of the Canadas.—

" It is with feelings of the most anxious concern," observes his Lordship, " that I have to add the in-" formation recently received here of the success " which has this season attended the unprincipled " machinations of the North-West Company, who " have again effected the destruction of the settle-" ment on Red River, with the massacre of about " twenty of the settlers and servants of the Hudson's " Bay Company. The circumstances attending this " catastrophe, and those which immediately led to " it, have, as yet, reached me only in a very imperfect " manner, and through channels which cannot fully " be depended upon. I have no doubt that the North-" West Company are in possession of more accurate " information, but the interest they have to misre-" present the facts, must be too evident to require " any comment. Of this I am confident, that Mr. " Semple was not a man likely to act in a violent or " illegal manner, so as to give any just ground for " such an attack as appears to have been made. I " trust that, in the course of a few days, I may obtain " more complete information on this subject, at Fort " William, where are now assembled many persons " who must have direct knowledge of the facts, and " on whom I propose, as a magistrate, to call for in-" formation. In the delicate situation in which I " stand as a party interested, I could have wished " that some other magistrate should have undertaken

"the investigation. In this view I have applied to "two very respectable gentlemen in this neighbour-"hood, who are qualified as magistrates for the "western district of Upper Canada*, and the only "persons so qualified who could be expected to go "to such a distance. Both of them, however, have "avocations which render it impossible to comply "with my request; I am therefore reduced to the "alternative of acting alone, or of allowing an auda-"cious crime to pass unpunished. In these circum-"stances, I cannot doubt that it is my duty to act, "though I am not without apprehension that the law "may be openly resisted by a set of men who have "been accustomed to consider force as the only cri-"terion of right.

"I have the honour to be,

"&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "SELKIRK."

"*To His Excellency*

"*Sir John Sherbrooke,*

"*&c. &c. &c.*"

Lord Selkirk accordingly directed his course to Fort William, and entering the River Kaministigoia, near the mouth of which Fort William is situated, proceeded nearly a mile above it, and made his people pitch their tents on the opposite bank.—A number of the partners of the North-West Company were now assembled at the Fort, or trading post, and, among them, Mr. William M'Gillivray, their prin-

* These were Mr. Askin of Drummond's Island, and Mr. Ermatinger at the Sault St. Marie.

cipal agent in Canada. Lord Selkirk immediately sent over to that gentleman, to know by what authority, and on what grounds, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Pambrun, Nolin, and others from the Red River, were detained in custody. Some of these were immediately permitted to join his Lordship, Mr. M'Gillivray stating that he did not admit they were prisoners; and adding, that of the others, who had been sent for, one was on his way to Montreal as a prisoner, and the other as a witness. The persons who came over, asserted that they had all been kept for a time under rigorous confinement. The Informations taken of these persons and others, with respect to the occurrences at the colony, were of such a nature, as to induce his Lordship to issue warrants for the apprehension of the North-West Company's partners then at Fort William.—The first he issued was against Mr. M'Gillivray, who submitted immediately to the arrest. Two other partners, who came over with him, to offer themselves as bail, (which was refused) were also apprehended, and detained under similar warrants. Other warrants were likewise issued to arrest several more of the partners, who had remained behind at the Fort, and the constables were again sent with two boats, the crews of which were armed, for the purpose of supporting the peace-officers, if necessary, in the execution of their duty. The resistance, which was made to the serving of these last-mentioned warrants, is a sufficient proof how advisable it was to resort to the precaution which had been adopted. When the constables landed, four or five

of the partners were standing at, and within the gate of the Fort, together with a considerable number of Canadians, and Indians, in the North-West Company's employment. The warrants were, in the usual form, served upon two of these partners; but when the constable was proceeding to arrest the third, he declared that there should be no further submission till Mr. M'Gillivray was liberated. An attempt was immediately made to shut the gate, and prevent the constables from entering. They had succeeded in shutting one half of the gate, and had almost closed the other by force, when the principal constable called out for the assistance of those who were with him.—The party from the two boats, about twenty-five in number, immediately rushed up, and forced their way into the Fort. A signal, as previously agreed upon if required, being made by a bugle sounded by one of the party, an additional number of persons came quickly over from the opposite side of the river, and their appearance (for they did not then enter the Fort) probably prevented bloodshed, and further resistance.—The partner, who had refused obedience to the warrant, was seized and taken to the boats, and the rest submitted peaceably to the arrest. At the time this resistance to the warrant was attempted, there were above two hundred Canadians in the employment of the Company in, and about, the Fort—together with sixty or seventy Iroquois Indians, also in the Company's service. Another warrant had been issued to search for, and secure, the papers of the Company, and of the partners who had been apprehended.—Seals were

put upon these by a gentleman appointed by the Earl of Selkirk, and by one of the principal clerks of the North-West Company, and guards were placed for security.

The partners, who were arrested, were taken over to Lord Selkirk's tents, but the day was now too far advanced to proceed with all their examinations. They pledged their word of honour, that no further attempt should be made to obstruct the execution of the law, and that all measures of a hostile nature should be abandoned. Lord Selkirk, in consequence, consented to allow the prisoners to return to their apartments in the Fort. It appears, however, that sufficient precaution had not been adopted. It was discovered next morning that the seals were broken from several places, and that many letters and papers had been burnt in the kitchen in the course of the night;—that a canoe loaded with arms and ammunition had been sent off,—that several barrels of gunpowder had been secretly conveyed from the Fort in the night-time, which were afterwards traced to a place of concealment among some brushwood in the neighbourhood; and about fifty or sixty stand of fire arms, to all appearance fresh loaded and primed, were found hidden under some hay in a barn or loft, adjoining the Fort.

In consequence of these discoveries, and the suspicions that a surprise might be attempted by the Indians and Canadians in the Company's service, the greater part of the latter were sent to the opposite side of the river; and their canoes were secured.—Lord Selkirk and his party came over

and pitched their tents in front of the Fort, where the guards were strengthened.

The examinations of the persons apprehended having been completed, and their Declarations made out and signed by them, warrants of commitment were issued, and the parties sent off to the Attorney-General of Upper Canada, and afterwards taken to Montreal, in Lower Canada, where they were admitted to bail*.

It is now necessary, in pursuance of the object of this narrative, to resume the subject of the Red River Settlement, and, in doing so, the reader will be enabled to judge, from the documents which shall be produced to him (particularly the depositions taken at Fort William, and Montreal) how far the outrages directed against the colony, in the summer of 1816, ought in justice to be ascribed to the same persons who instigated, and effected its destruction in the year before.

It appears necessary to recal the reader's attention to that division of the Colonists who, refusing to be taken down to Canada in the summer of 1815, had

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* The short account above given of the proceedings at Fort William, and of the apprehension of several of the partners of the North-West Company, is taken from a detailed statement which the Earl of Selkirk officially addressed, on the 21st of August (about a week after his arrival at Fort William) to Mr. Gore, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.—With respect to the subsequent transactions at that place, see Observations subjoined to the Statement, page 157, &c.

proceeded, under the friendly escort of the Indians, as far as Lake Winnipic, from whence they went to the other end of the lake, and established themselves, for a short time, at Jack River House, a station belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. They were soon afterwards joined by Mr. Colin Robertson, a gentleman employed in the service of that Company, who told the settlers, that if they chose to go back to the settlement, he would take charge of them, and carry with him some men, who, he thought, would be of service in assisting them to re-establish themselves. They accordingly put themselves under his charge, and returned to the Red River, where they were, some time after, joined by a considerable body of emigrants, (chiefly from the Highlands of Scotland,) who had been written to, in the year before, by the settlers at Red River, and anxiously pressed, and encouraged by them, to emigrate to that place.—With this addition, the colonists amounted to upwards of two hundred. The greater part of them remained for some months, about ninety miles up the Red River, at its junction with the River Pembina, for the purpose of more easily procuring buffaloe-meat during the winter;—but, early in the following spring, they were all placed at the original station of the colony, where lands were regularly assigned to them*.

* When the settlement was broken up, and the houses burned, in June 1815, the crops of grain were much destroyed,—but after the North-West Company's servants, and the Half-breeds, had dispersed, the crops that remained were taken care of by Mr. John M'Leod, and a few men who had continued at the Red River, employed in the trading concerns of the Hudson's Bay Company.

It has been already mentioned, that the two partners of the North-West Company, Mr. Duncan Cameron, and Mr. Alexander M'Donell, had returned, from the annual rendezvous at Fort William, in the autumn of 1815, to the stations which they had occupied in the preceding winter; namely, Cameron to that at the Forks of the Red River, and M'Donell to that upon the River Qui Appelle, also within the Hudson's Bay territories, although several hundred miles further in the interior.—Neither of these partners expected to find that any of the Red River colonists had so soon attempted to re-establish themselves at the settlement. Mr. Cameron, however, began again to molest and disturb the settlers; upon which Mr. Colin Robertson, who had taken upon himself the charge of them, seized his fort, or trading post, in the month of October, and recovered two of the field-pieces, and thirty stand of arms, which had been carried off from the settlement, the year before. These, it may be recollected, Cameron had formerly refused to restore, holding at defiance the warrant which had been sent for the purpose of recovering them*.—In this proceeding of Mr. Robertson, fortunately, no blood was shed. Cameron was released, upon promise to behave peaceably in future, and immediately reinstated in possession of his trading post.—Early in the ensuing spring, however, he was again apprehended, and taken towards the coast of Hudson's

—By the middle of October fifteen hundred bushels of wheat, a considerable quantity of other grain, and a large stock of potatoes were safely housed.

* See Note, page 20.

Bay by Mr. Robertson, under Governor Semple's directions, for the purpose of being sent to England to take his trial. But in consequence of the ships belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company having been detained by the ice all last winter in the Bay, and not having yet returned to England, no account whatever has been received from Mr. Robertson himself of the grounds of his apprehending Cameron, nor of the circumstances attending that transaction. It appears evident, however, that he had discovered Cameron to be again plotting the destruction of the Settlement, and conspiring with Mr. Alexander M'Donell for the purpose of attacking, and driving away the settlers.—In order to ascertain their plans of aggression, Mr. Robertson caused some of their letters to be intercepted; and when the reader peruses a few extracts from some of those which were thus obtained, he will probably think that there could be very little doubt of the intentions of the partners of the North-West Company to renew the disgraceful outrages against the colony.

On the 13th of March, 1816, Mr. Alexander M'Donell thus writes from the River Qui Appelle, to Mr. Duncan Cameron at the Forks of the Red River:—

"I received your kind favour from Rivière la Sourie. I "remark with pleasure the hostile proceedings of our neigh-"bours, I say pleasure, because the more they do, the more "justice we will have on our side. A storm is gathering in "the North ready to burst on the rascals who deserve it; "little do they know their situation. Last year was but a "joke. The new nation under their leaders are coming for-

" ward to clear their native soil of intruders and assassins.
" —Glorious news from Athabasca*."

On the same day he also writes to another of the North-West Company (J. Dougald Cameron) at the Sault St. Mary:—

" I am in the Fort of Riviere Qu'Appelle, 13th March, " dashing about with my sword, and gold epaulets, con- " ducting, and transacting your business," &c. &c. And a little further, " Sir William Shaw is collecting all the " Half-breeds from the surrounding departments, and has " ordered his friends in this quarter to prepare to take the " field. He has actually taken every Half-breed in the " country to the Forks of Fort des Prairies:—it is supposed " when they are collected altogether they will form more " than one hundred.—God only knows the result."

Cuthbert Grant, (a Half-breed clerk of the North-West Company, and the principal leader of the Bois-Brulés) writes on the same day, and from the same place, to Alexander Frazer, also one of the principal Half-breeds employed by that Company, as follows:—

" I shall take the liberty of addressing you a few lines to " inform you of our countrymen at Fort des Prairies, and at " the English River. The Half-breeds at Fort des Prairies,

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* The news alluded to by Mr. M'Donell, (and which, it is confidently trusted will prove to be unfounded,) was, that eighteen persons in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had gone to trade in Athabasca, had suffered every degree of misery and distress.—" One of them alone reached Fort Chipewayan: " all the others had perished; and the wretched men who " survived the longest, had been reduced to the horrid necessity " of satisfying their hunger by eating the flesh of their deceased " companions, till at length only one was left to tell the dreadful " tale."—This was the " Glorious news from Athabasca!"—See Note, page 56, of " *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian " Countries*," &c.

"I am happy to inform you that they are all united and "staunch and ready to obey our commands, they have sent "one of them here to see how things stood, and to know "whether it was necessary that they should all come, which "of course I sent word that they should all be here about "the first of May. As for the Half-breeds about English "River, Mr. Shaw has gathered the whole of them, as they "come by water, I do not know what time they will be at "the Forks. All that I have to say now is that I beg of "you and Bostonois to keep the Half-breeds below united "if possible, as for those here, I am sure of them excepting "Antoine Hoole which I gave a set down this morning and "broke him."

Grant writes another letter, on the same day, to I. Dougald Cameron, at the Sault St. Mary. In this he mentions—

"The Half-breeds of Fort des Praries and English River "are all to be here in the spring, it is to be hoped we shall "come off with flying colours, and never to see any of them "again in the colonizing way in Red River. In fact the "Traders shall pack off with themselves also for having dis-"regarded our orders last spring according to our agree-"ments. We are all to remain at the Forks to pass the "summer, for fear they should play us the same tricks as "last summer of coming back, but they shall receive a warm "reception."

From the depositions also it appears evident that the greatest exertion was made by Mr. Alexander M'Donell to collect the Half-breeds, from every quarter, for the purpose of prosecuting measures of hostility against the colony*.—Many of these Half-

* See Appendix, [V.] page xxxiii. and [Y.]

breeds were collected from a very distant part of the country: some from Cumberland House, and also from the Upper Saskatchawan, at least seven or eight eight hundred miles from the Red River settlement. But, notwithstanding the great distance, various reports had reached the settlers, in the course of the winter, of the dangers which threatened them, and of the "storm gathering in the North," which was soon to burst upon their heads.

In a narrative which was written by Mr. Pritchard, one of the principal settlers, (then at the River Pembina, where he had remained during most of the winter, with about one hundred and sixty of the colonists under his charge,) he says,—

"In the course of the winter we were much alarmed by "reports that the Half-breeds were assembling in all parts "of the North for the purpose of driving us away, and that "they were expected to arrive at the settlement early in the "spring. The nearer the spring approached, the more "prevalent these reports grew, and letters received from dif-"ferent posts confirmed the same. Our hunters, and those "free Canadians who had supplied us with provisions, were "much terrified with the dread of the punishment they "might receive for the support they had given us.—My "neighbours, the Half-breeds, began to shew a disposition "to violence, and threatened to shoot our hunter Bollenaud's "horse, and himself too, if he did not desist from running "the buffaloe; at the same time they told me, that if I did "not prevent him from so doing, they would go in a body "on horseback, drive the cattle away, and cause my people "to starve.

"In the month of March, Messrs. Fraser and Hesse ar-"rived at my neighbour's house, which gave us great un-

" easiness, as Fraser was represented as the leader of the
" Half-breeds, and that he was a daring, and violent man*.
" On his arrival he sent a threatening message to one of my
" hunters, and whenever an opportunity offered, he was very
" assiduous in his endeavours to seduce from us, our servants
" and settlers; likewise a report was very current, that a
" party of Half-breeds, and Cree Indians, were expected to
" arrive from Fort des Prairies, on the Saskatchawan River,
" as soon as the melting of the snow would admit of their
" travelling; and the language of every free Canadian we
" saw was 'Mefiez vous bien pour l'amour de Dieu; mefiez
" 'vous bien.' At the same time we were informed that the
" Half-breed servants of the North-West Company, who
" were then in the plains, were ordered home to their house.
" This assemblage of those men gave us the most serious
" apprehension for the safety of the settlers, and those ser-
" vants who were employed to bring provisions from the
" plains to the fort."

Governor Semple, who had been visiting several of the stations within the Hudson's Bay territories, arrived at the Red River in the spring of 1816†. In the month of April, he sent Mr. Pambrun to the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post on the River

* Fraser had received a good education in Canada;—and was once a clerk in the custom house at Quebec; he was afterwards appointed a clerk in the North-West Company. He makes a conspicuous figure in the subsequent outrages against the colony.

† Mr. Semple had been nominated by the Hudson's Bay Company to be the chief governor over all their factories and territories,—and had gone out, in 1815, to take upon him the important charge to which he had been appointed. No person could be better fitted for the situation than Mr. Semple.—He was of a mild, steady, just, and honourable character.

Qui Appelle, who found, at the adjoining post belonging to the North-West Company, a great number of the Brulés collected. Mr. Pambrun embarked, in the beginning of May, with Mr. George Sutherland, (who had the charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post on that river,) and twenty-two men, in five boats, loaded with a considerable quantity of furs, and about six hundred bags of pemican*, chiefly intended for the support of the colonists, till they could reap the crops that were on the ground. On the 12th of May, as they were proceeding down the river, they were attacked by an armed party of about fifty of the servants of the North-West Company, (Canadians and Half-breeds,) under the command of Cuthbert Grant, Thomas M'Kay, Roderick M'Kenzie, and Pangman Bostonois, clerks and interpreters of that Company, together with Brisbois, one of their guides.—Mr. Pambrun and the rest of the party were taken prisoners, and carried to Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who avowed that it was by his order that they, and the provisions, and other property, were seized. — M'Donell stated, that he had done so in retaliation for Mr. C. Robertson having taken the North-West Company's fort at the Forks of the Red River, and declared that it was his intention

* Pemican is a species of dried provisions, generally prepared by the natives, from the buffaloe and deer. The lean parts of the meat are first dried by the heat of the fire, then reduced into a coarse powder, mixed with melted fat, and crammed into bags made of the skins of the buffaloe.—Each bag contains about ninety pound weight, and it is reckoned a good carcase, which yields a whole bag.

to starve the colonists, and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and make them surrender. The party was forcibly detained for five days, and then liberated, (under a promise not to bear arms against the North-West Company,) with the exception of Mr. Pambrun, who was kept a prisoner for six weeks. Mr. Pambrun had served as lieutenant in the corps of Canadian Voltigeurs during the late war with America, and, in one of the actions, had received a severe wound in his leg. When first detained as a prisoner by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, at his post on the River Qui Appelle, his wound broke out afresh, and threatened the loss of the limb, but Mr. M'Donell would not let him go back to the settlement for the benefit of medical assistance. He said, however, that if Mr. Pambrun would write to the surgeon of the settlement for medicine, he would send for it; but, after the letter was written, he refused to transmit it. —It appears to have been an important object with Mr. M'Donell to detain Mr. Pambrun for the purpose of preventing him from communicating information to Governor Semple, and from assisting, with his military experience, in the defence of the colony.— As the party afterwards approached the Red River, Pambrun was closely guarded, night and day, by several armed men.

About the end of May, Mr. Alexander M'Donell embarked in his boats with the furs, and bags of provisions, which he had seized. He was attended by a body of the Brulés on horseback, who followed him along the banks of the river. They soon afterwards met a band of the Sautoux Indians with their

chief, to whom M'Donell made a speech, the purport of which was, that the English* were spoiling the lands on Red River, which belonged to the Indians and to the Half-breeds; that if the Indians would not drive them away, the North-West Company would; and if the settlers resisted, that none should be spared, and the ground should be drenched with their blood. He did not, he said, stand in need of the aid of the Indians, but yet he would be glad if some of them would join him.—None of these, however, would accompany him.

When the party arrived near the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post at Brandon House, Cuthbert Grant was dispatched with twenty-five men, who took that post, and pillaged it not only of all the British goods, together with the furs, and provisions, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, but also of the private property of their servants, which was distributed among the Canadians, and Half-breeds, under Alexander M'Donell. — After this exploit, M'Donell divided his forces, amounting in all to about one hundred and twenty men, (including six Cree Indians who had been prevailed upon to accompany them from a great distance,) into separate *brigades*, under Cuthbert Grant, Lacerte, Alexander Fraser, and Antoine Hoole—and he nominated Seraphim Lamar, (the *Voyageur Ensign* of the pre-

* The *English*, when mentioned in the Indian and Hudson's Bay territory, always means the servants of the latter Company, or the settlers, in contradistinction to the *Canadians* and *Half-breeds*.

ceding campaign,) his lieutenant, or second in command, under him. When this organised banditti arrived at Portage des Prairies, the plunder was landed from the canoes, and the six hundred bags of pemican, together with their own provisions, were formed into a sort of rampart or redoubt, flanked by two brass swivels, which had formerly belonged to Lord Selkirk's settlement.

On the 18th of June, Cuthbert Grant, Lacerte, Fraser, Hoole, and Thomas M'Kay, were sent off, with about seventy men, to attack the colony at Red River. Their commander-in-chief, Alexander M'Donell, in the mean while, prudently remained where he was, together with several of his officers, and about forty men, cautiously barricaded behind his portable redoubt of plundered provisions, and protected by artillery which had been stolen.

On the 20th of June, a messenger returned from Cuthbert Grant, who reported that his party had killed Governor Semple with five of his officers, and sixteen of his people; upon which M'Donell, Seraphim Lamar, and all the other officers, shouted with joy.—M'Donell then went to the rest of the men who had remained with him, and announced to them the news, in language (as sworn to by Mr. Pambrun,) which we will not attempt to translate, "Sacré nom "de Dieu!—Bonnes nouvelles.—Vingt-deux Anglois "de tués! *"

It is not improbable that those individuals, who

* See Appendix, [V.]

have shewn such enmity to the Earl of Selkirk, and his plans, and who have eagerly circulated the cry of "Colonization being at all times unfavourable to the "fur trade," will pronounce the deposition of Mr. Pambrun, as well as those of Lavigne, Nolin, and others, to be mere fabrications:—that his Lordship has been employed in examining persons at Fort William upon his own affairs;—and that no reliance ought to be placed on affidavits taken before such a magistrate*.—Unfortunately, however, for such persons, and fortunately for the cause of truth, among other documents, are produced depositions taken, about the same time, at Montreal, fifteen hundred miles from Fort William, in which the circumstances are confirmed by persons who escaped from the massacre.

In addition to the information contained in these documents, a statement of the whole transaction was drawn up, and signed, by Mr. Pritchard, who was present, and whose life was saved, with great difficulty, by the interference of one of the Canadians of the hostile party, with whom he had been previously acquainted.—Mr. Pritchard had been long employed in the service of the North-West Company, and had resided upwards of thirteen years at the Red River. On the first establishment of the colony, he preferred settling there with his family, and cultivating a farm, to continuing in the service of the Company, notwithstanding he had received from them strong assurance of promotion. When the colony was broken

* See Appendix, [V.] [W.] [X.] &c. &c.

up, in the year 1815, he had been driven from it with those of the settlers who subsequently retired to the further end of Lake Winnipic; and he had again returned with them to the Red River in the autumn of the same year

It appears that Governor Semple was upon the point of returning from the Red River to York Fort in Hudson's Bay, on the concerns of the Hudson's Bay Company, when the reports, which had been for some time in circulation, of intended hostility against the settlement, began to increase from every quarter. Measures of precaution were adopted, and a watch regularly kept to guard against surprise.—On the 17th of June, two Cree Indians who had escaped from the party of Canadians and Brulés under Mr. Alexander M'Donell, came to Mr. Semple at Fort Douglas, adjoining the settlement*, and told him that he would certainly be attacked in two days by the Bois-Brulés, commanded by Cuthbert Grant, Hoole, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerte, and Thomas M'Kay, all in the service of the North-West Company, who were determined to take the fort; and that, if any resistance was made, neither man, woman, or child, would escape. Two chiefs of the Sautoux Indians, hearing also of the intended attack, came and held a council with Governor Semple, and told him, in a speech, "they were come to take their father's advice, " and wishedto know from him how they were to act; " that they were certain he would be attacked, and

* After thèir return from Jack River House, the settlers named the Governor's house, at the settlement, Fort Douglas.

" that, if their father wanted their assistance, they, " and their young men, would be ready to defend " him."—Governor Semple answered, by advising them not to interfere;—" But," said he, " as we " are not sure of what may be the will of our Great " Father, I now give you a supply of gunpowder, " that, in case of my destruction, you may have the " means of procuring subsistence, for yourselves and " families, during the summer." Some of the free Canadians also offered to join him, but he declined their services, saying, that he did not wish them to fight against their countrymen.

" On the afternoon of the 19th of June," (says Mr. Pritchard in his narrative,) " a man in the watch-house " called out, that the Half-breeds were coming. The " governor, some other gentlemen, and myself, looked " through spy-glasses, and I distinctly saw some armed " people on horseback passing along the plains. A man " then called out, they, (meaning the Half-breeds) are " making for the settlers; on which the governor said, " ' We must go out and meet these people; let twenty men " ' follow me.' We proceeded by the old road leading " down the settlement. As we were going along, we met " many of the settlers running to the fort, crying, ' the " ' Half-breeds—the Half-breeds.'—When we were ad- " vanced about three quarters of a mile along the settlement, " we saw some people on horseback behind a point of woods. " —On our nearer approach, the party seemed more nume- " rous; on which, the governor made a halt, and sent for a " field-piece, which, delaying to arrive, he ordered us to " advance.—We had not proceeded far, before the Half- " breeds, on horseback, with their faces painted in the most " hideous manner, and in the dresses of Indian warriors, came " forward, and surrounded us in the form of a half-moon,

" We then extended our line, and moved more into the
" open plain; and as they advanced, we retreated a few
" steps backwards, and then saw a Canadian, named Bou-
" cher, ride up to us waving his hand, and calling out,
" 'What do you want?' the governor replied, 'What do
" '*you* want?' To which Boucher answered, 'We want
" our fort.'—The governor said, 'Go to your fort.'—They
" were, by this time, near each other, and consequently
" spoke too low for me to hear.—Being at some little dis-
" tance to the right of the governor, I saw him take hold
" of Boucher's gun, and almost immediately a general dis-
" charge of fire-arms took place; but whether it began on
" our side, or that of the enemy, it was impossible to dis-
" tinguish: my attention was then directed towards my
" personal defence. In a few minutes, almost all our people
" were either killed or wounded.—Captain Rogers, having
" fallen, rose up again and came towards me, when not
" seeing one of our party who was not either killed or dis-
" abled, I called out to him, 'For God's sake give yourself
" up.'—He ran towards the enemy for that purpose, myself
" following him. He raised up his hands, and, in English,
" and broken French, called out for mercy. A Half-breed,
" (son of Colonel William M'Kay) shot him through the
" head, and another cut open his belly with a knife, with
" the most horrid imprecations. Fortunately for me, a
" Canadian (named Lavigne) joining his entreaties to mine,
" saved me (though with the greatest difficulty) from sharing
" the fate of my friend at that moment. After this, I was
" rescued from death, in the most providential manner, no
" less than six different times, on my road to, and at, the
" Frog Plain, (the head-quarters of those cruel murderers.)
" I there saw that Alexander Murray, and his wife, two of
" William Bannerman's children, and Alexander Suther-
" land, settlers, and likewise Anthony M'Donell, a servant,
" were prisoners, having been taken before the action took
" place. With the exception of myself, no quarter was

" given to any of us. The knife, axe, or ball, put a period
" to the existence of the wounded; and on the bodies of the
" dead were practised all those horrible barbarities which
" characterise the inhuman heart of the savage. The
" amiable and mild Mr. Semple, lying on his side (his thigh
" having been broken), and supporting his head upon his
" hand, addressed the chief commander of our enemies, by
" inquiring if he was Mr. Grant; and being answered in
" the affirmative, 'I am not mortally wounded,' said Mr.
" Semple; 'and, if you could get me conveyed to the fort,
" I think I should live.'—Grant promised he would do so;
" and immediately left him in the care of a Canadian, who
" afterwards told, that an Indian of their party came up,
" and shot Mr. Semple in the breast.—I entreated Grant to
" procure me the watch, or even the seals, of Mr. Semple,
" for the purpose of transmitting them to his friends, but I
" did not succeed. Our force amounted to twenty-eight
" persons, of whom twenty-one were killed, and one
" wounded, the Governor, Captain Rogers, Mr. James
" White, surgeon, Mr. Alexander M'Lean, settler, Mr.
" Wilkinson, private secretary to the governor, and Lieu-
" tenant Holt, of the Swedish navy, and fifteen servants
" were killed*. Mr. J. P. Bourke, storekeeper, was
" wounded, but saved himself by flight.—The enemy, I am
" told, were sixty-two persons, the greater part of whom
" were the contracted servants and clerks of the North-
" West Company.—They had one man killed, and one

* Mr. M'Lean, who was killed on the 19th of June, was the principal settler in the colony, and the same person who had refused the large bribe offered him as an inducement to desert from the settlement the year before.—See Appendix, [P.] and [S.].—He had been severely wounded in the attack upon the colony in the preceding summer.—The servants of the settlement, who fell on the 19th of June, were seven labourers from Ireland, three from the Orkneys, and five from the north of Scotland.

" wounded.—The chiefs, who headed the party of our " enemy, were Messrs. Grant, and Fraser, Antoine Hoole, " and Bourrassa; the two former clerks, and the two latter " interpreters, in the service of the North-West Company. " —On the field I saw six of the North-West Company's " Canadian servants; namely, Boucher, Morin, Des Champs, " Joseph Hesse, Mageau, and Lavigne."

By the deposition of Michael Heden, who was close to Governor Semple during this horrible transaction, (and to whose affidavit particular reference is entreated*), it appears that Boucher, the Canadian, advanced in front of his party, and, in an insolent tone, desired to know what he (Mr. Semple) was about. Mr. Semple desired to know what he, and his party, wanted. Boucher said, he wanted his fort. The governor desired him to go to his fort—upon which Boucher said to the governor, " Why did you " destroy our fort, you damned rascal?" Mr. Semple then laid hold of the bridle of Boucher's horse, saying, " Scoundrel, do you tell me so?" Upon this, Boucher jumped from his horse,—and a shot was instantly fired by one of Grant's party of horsemen, which killed Mr. Holt, who was standing near Governor Semple.—Boucher then ran to his party, and another shot was fired, by which Mr. Semple was wounded. The Governor immediately cried out to his men, " Do what you can to take care of your- " selves." But, instead of this, his party appear to have crowded about him, to ascertain what injury he had met with;—and, while they were thus collected, the Brulés, who had formed a circle round

* See Appendix, [C. C.]

them, fired a general volley among them, by which the greater part were killed or wounded. Those who were still standing, took off their hats, and called for mercy, but in vain.—The horsemen galloped forward, and butchered them.

Heden, in his affidavit, further states, that he only observed three Indians among this party, and he saw none of these fire a shot, though he kept his eyes upon them a principal part of the time.—In the confusion of such a business, one might be disposed to doubt, in some degree, the minute accuracy of the deponent's observation; but it is worthy of remark, that his deposition corresponds with that of Mr. Pambrun, who mentions that there had been six Indians with Mr. Alexander M'Donell, at his camp, some days before; and, it may be recollected, that two of these had deserted from him, and brought information to Mr. Semple, on the 17th of June, of the intended attack.—The matter is not of much importance, except to shew, that the North-West Company had succeeded in getting a few Indians to join them, upon whom the blame might be subsequently thrown, if ever there should be a question of blame on the subject. At the time of the massacre, there was an encampment of Indians (Sautoux, and Crees) opposite to the settlement, but none of them took any share in the transaction. On the contrary, they lamented deeply what had happened; shewing much kindness towards the settlers,—and assisting them in bringing away, for interment at the fort, some of the dead bodies of those who had fallen.

Immediately after the massacre, Mr. Pritchard was taken down to Frog Plain, a short way below the settlement, and where Cuthbert Grant had fixed his head-quarters.—

" When I was at the Frog Plain, in their custody," continues Mr. Pritchard in his narrative, " Mr. Grant told " me, that an attack would, that night, be made upon the " fort; and if our people fired a single shot, a general mas- " sacre would ensue. ' You see,' observed he, ' the little " ' quarter we have shewn you; and now, if any further " ' resistance is made, neither man, woman, or child, shall " ' be spared.'—Fraser added in French, ' Mr. Robertson " ' said that we were *blacks*, and he shall see that our hearts " ' will not belie the colour of our bodies.'—Being fully con- " vinced of the inevitable destruction of these poor souls, I " asked Grant, if there were any means by which the lives " of the poor women, and children could be saved; I in- " treated him, in the name of his deceased father, whose " countrywomen they were, to take pity, and spare them.— " He then said, if we would give up all public property, we " should be allowed to depart in peace, and that he would " give us a safe escort until we had passed the North-West " Company's track in Lake Winipic, which he said was " necessary to protect us from two other parties of Half- " breeds, that were momentarily expected to come up the " river, one of which he said was commanded by Mr. Wil- " liam Shaw, and the other by Simon, son of the Honourable " William M'Gillivray.—This proposition I wished to " carry to Mr. M'Donell, the chief of the settlement; but " here a difficulty arose, as Grant's men would not consent " to my return.—I addressed myself to them, and concluded " by saying, ' Mr. Grant, you know me, and I am sure will " ' answer for my return, body for body,'—to which he " assented.—Several of them told me in a friendly way, to " take great care how I acted; that I well knew that it was

" impossible for me to make my escape, and that if I forfeited
" my word, I should be tortured to death in the most cruel
" manner.—These people were greatly disappointed in
" not meeting with Mr. Robertson, who, (as they told
" me,) they would have endeavoured to take alive; and
" after flaying him, they would have cut his body into small
" bits, and boiled it afterwards for the dogs.

" On my arrival at the fort, what a scene of distress pre-
" sented itself! The widows, children, and relations of tho
" slain, in the horrors of despair, were lamenting the dead,
" and trembling for the safety of the survivors.

" I must here observe, that when I was allowed to leave
" the Frog Plain, it was late at night, and that Mr. Grant
" accompanied me, as my protector, almost to the spot on
" which I had seen my dearest friends fall by the hands of
" the merciless savages.—The shade of night hid from my
" view what the dawn of the following day too clearly ex-
" posed,—their mangled and disfigured bodies.—From what
" I saw, and what I have been told, I do not suppose that
" more than one-fourth of our party were mortally wounded
" when they fell, but were most inhumanly butchered after-
" wards.

" After having made three trips to, and from the Frog
" Plain, Mr. Sheriff M'Donell (who had then the charge of
" the settlement,) and the Half-breed chiefs came to an
" agreement in substance as before related*.—An inventory

" When Mr. Pritchard arrived at the settlement, he found the settlers assembled at the Governor's house, or fort.—Upon his stating the proposals, which had been sent by him, for their surrender, they declared they would not yield to the conditions required. Mr. Sheriff M'Donell therefore, although he was well aware that resistance would be useless, told Mr. Pritchard, that he could not consent to give up their post, while the men were inclined to defend it.—The settlers, however, having had time to reflect on the dreadful situation to which the women and

" of the property being taken, the whole was delivered up
" to Mr. Cuthbert Grant for the use of the North-West
" Company, each sheet of the inventory being signed as
" follows:—

" 'Received on account of the North-West Company,
" 'by me,

" 'CUTHBERT GRANT,
" '*Clerk for the N. West Co.*
" '*Acting for the N. West-Company.*'

" In two days we were ready to embark, at which time " Mr. Grant came to us, and said he could not allow us to " proceed, as Mr. Alexander M'Donell (the North-West " Company's partner) had sent an order for our detention " until his arrival. This was dreadful news to us. We " were without arms, standing upon the beach, surrounded " by the murderers, and in momentary fear of our wives and " daughters being violated, which it was commonly reported " would take place.—The day before, at the solicitation of " the settlers, I had been twice claiming the protection of " Messrs. Grant and Fraser on that head, who told me their " intentions were only in regard to Heden's wife; at the " same time they promised me either to stop with us them- " selves, or send such men on whom they could depend. " I reproached, intreated, and indeed did all in my power, " to induce Grant to let us depart; at last, on Mr. Sheriff " M'Donell's observing that he plainly perceived that Mr. " Alexander M'Donell (the North-West partner) wished to

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children would inevitably be reduced, should their resistance prove unsuccessful, came next morning, and gave their consent to the terms which Cuthbert Grant had proposed.—Both Bourke and Heden, however, have sworn, in their affidavits, that the private property of the settlers was almost all taken away from them by force after the capitulation.

"defraud Grant of the honour of the day, and take all the "praise to himself, Grant's pride was hurt, and he, in his "intemperate manner, said, he would keep his word in spite "of M'Donell, and desired us to depart immediately with-"out waiting for an escort, which he said he would send "after us in a light canoe.—We scrambled into the boats "and put off.—Previous to the embarkation, I received a "protection from Mr. Grant as follows:—

"This is to certify that Mr. John Pritchard has behaved "himself honourably towards the North-West Company,

(Signed) "CUTHBERT GRANT,
"*Clerk to the North-West Company.*"

The settlers, labourers, and others belonging to the colony, with their families, (in all nearly two hundred) having thus embarked in their boats, for the purpose of pursuing their voyage to the coast of Hudson's Bay, proceeded down the river, and, on the second day, were met by a strong party of canoes headed by Mr. Norman M'Leod, a leading partner, and a principal agent, of the North-West Company, a "Major des "Tribus Sauvages, et des pays conquis*," and a Magistrate for the Indian territory, under the Canada Jurisdiction Act†.

From a person vested with such authority, the persecuted colonists might, not unreasonably, have looked, in their distress, for some little aid or commiseration.—Driven from their lands and habitations

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* See note, bottom of page 13.

† 43rd Geo. III. c. 138.

with unheard of barbarity;—the bodies of their massacred fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, lying, many of them, unburied on the spot where they fell*,—it would have been natural for these harrassed settlers to have hailed, with some faint glimmering of hope, the approach of one, who, to other means of power and influence, added the authority of a Magistrate.—Mr. Norman M'Leod had also with him about ten partners of the powerful commercial body to which he belonged, whose authority would have strengthened his own, and there were, in the canoes, nearly an hundred armed men ready to act in support of his orders. From him therefore the colonists might naturally have expected "some of those aids "and comforts which are derived from civil society;"—the anticipated deprivation of which had raised, in this country, such apprehension among the opposers of colonization, and had called forth, as we have already seen, that portion of the "North-West Com-"pany's compassion," which appears to have been consigned to this side of the Atlantic.

As soon as the settlers approached, in their boats, to Mr. Norman M'Leod's party, the latter set up the Indian war-whoop,—and the first interrogatory

* Bourke and Heden both state in their affidavits, that the Indians came and assisted in bringing some of the bodies to the fort at the settlement, and also aided in burying them. The latter (Heden) mentions that they were prevented from bringing them all in from fear of the Brulés, and that the bodies "re-"mained on the ground a prey for the wild beasts"—that ground, which Alexander M'Donell had vowed, if resistance was made by the settlers, should be "drenched with their blood."

put by the magistrate was, "whether that rascal "and scoundrel Robertson was in the boats?"—In the same tone it was asked, if Governor Semple was with them; and, when his fate was told to them, Mr. Pritchard was ordered to come ashore, and the whole party was disembarked for the purpose of having examinations taken by Mr. M'Leod according to the due and regular forms of law.—Instead, however, of the usual symbols of Justice,—the sword and the balance,—this Magistrate had provided himself with emblems of a more novel, but not less appropriate, description, — namely, two brass field-pieces, which had been stolen from the Earl of Selkirk the year before!—Such are the purposes to which the Canada Jurisdiction Act is perverted; and such the persons who, under the fatal provisions of that legislative measure, have been, but too often, appointed justices of the peace for the Indian territories in British North America.

The settlers and their families having been disembarked, the magistrate commenced his judicial examinations by a general search into all the trunks, boxes, chests, &c. of the miserable victims whom he had got within his grasp.—Books, papers, accounts, letters, &c. (including those of Governor Semple, and also some other of his effects which had been hitherto saved,) were all taken from them.—"During my examination," says Mr. Pritchard,—"Mr. "M'Leod sent for all my papers, which were pe-"rused by himself and partners. They kept of them "what they thought proper, and returned the rest; "Mr. M'Leod saying, that 'those who played at

" 'bowls, must expect to meet with rubbers.'—He " then gave me a subpœna from the court of Lower " Canada, requiring my attendance for the 1st of " September, in a cause, The King against Spencer. " I was then ordered back to a tent, and soon after " Mr. Sheriff M'Donell was brought in as a prisoner, " after which he was bailed to appear the 1st of Sep- " tember 1817, at Montreal, if required.—The set- " tlers were detained a few days at this place, and as " soon as they were gone, Mr. Bourke, myself, " Patrick Corcoran, Michael Heden, and D. M'Kay, " were placed together in a tent, with a guard of " armed men put over us.—We remained here five " or six days, treated with the greatest indignity," &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Pritchard, it seems, had further been directed by Mr. Norman M'Leod, to write, and deliver to him, a narrative of what occurred on the 19th of June, the day of the massacre.—'You have drawn 'up a pretty paper!' said the Justice, 'You had 'better take care yourself, or you will get into a 'scrape.'—" I replied," continues Mr. Pritchard, " what I have written, Sir, is truth; I know not " what information you want. You had better put " questions to me, and which I promise I will truly " answer." 'Yes,—yes,'—was his reply, and ordered " me to send to him D. M'Kay, who returned with " a subpœna against Corcoran for felony.—Corcoran " and Heden were likewise served with subpœnas " against Mr. Bourke for felony.—After these judi- " cial proceedings, a party of Half-breeds came into " our prison, and put irons upon the hands of Mr.

" Bourke, saying, that they did that of their own " accord as a punishment for his treatment of Mr. " Duncan Cameron.—I must here observe, that Mr. " M'Leod the magistrate and several of his partners " were then in the fort, and of course must have " sanctioned this act of the Half-breeds, which was " much aggravated by Mr. Bourke's being so dis- " abled from dressing his wound, which was still in " a bad state *."

Michael Heden was also examined by Mr. Norman M'Leod about the late transactions at Red River:—but the Justice, being no better pleased with the answers given by him, than with those of Mr. Pritchard, told him " they were all lies ;—but that " to make him tell the truth, he would have him put " in irons at Fort William;" and his worship was probably as good as his word: at least it appears, by Heden's affidavit, that shortly after he got to Fort William, he was thrown into a most horrid prison, and placed in strict confinement.—The grand council at that place, it seems, deemed it advisable, that, instead of his being any longer forcibly detained as a witness for the Crown, he should himself be made the subject of a criminal prosecution.—Accordingly, Mr. M'Gillivray, who was then on the spot, issued a warrant to commit him.—By Heden's deposition it would appear, that this additional severity was resorted to, in consequence of a step which he had taken, with

* For two days after the massacre, Mr. Bourke could get no assistance for his wound; till two Indians came and kindly dressed it for him.—See Appendix, [B. B.] page lii.

the view of saving the Earl of Selkirk from assassination *.

A warrant was also issued by Mr. M'Leod against Mr. Bourke,—who, being first robbed of his clothes, watch, and case of mathematical instruments, and put in irons, was afterwards carried down to Fort William on the top of the luggage in a canoe, without any attention being paid to his wound during that long journey.—In short, (for it is unnecessary further to report these *law-cases,*) the worthy magistrate for the Indian territory closed his sessions by securing some of the settlers by *warrants*, and some by *subpœnas*:—that is to say, in order to insure the subsequent appearance of the witnesses, to give their testimony in court before the judge, they were, in the mean while, made close prisoners by the justice! —The parties who were to be prosecuted, and those who were to be evidence for the prosecution, were alike deprived of their liberty; and, in order that they might become better acquainted with each other, they were all imprisoned together in the same place—with a guard set over them, composed of those very ruffians by whom their friends had been butchered, and from whom they themselves had, almost miraculously, escaped at the time of the massacre.

In the whole of these proceedings, there appears such a horrible mixture of mock judicial solemnity, and real cruelty;—such a medley of folly, and

* See Bourke's and Heden's Depositions.—Appendix, [B. B.] page liv. and [C. C.] page lix.

atrocity;—of the semblance of law, and the substance of injustice,—as might, indeed, stagger the belief of any one who has not had an opportunity of perusing the documents which have been collected.

The rest of the settlers, and their families, were permitted to proceed on their dreary voyage, after having been thus unnecessarily detained for several days, consuming the scanty stock of provisions they had with them, which, as Heden states in his deposition, was not sufficient to last them one quarter of their journey to the coast.—No proposals were now held out, as in the year before, of free conveyance to Canada.—No gratuitous offer of lands in the Upper, or Lower Province.—No high wages—no flattering encouragement—none of those "aids "and comforts" which were last year to be derived from the boasted "compassion of the North-West "Company."—Insulted, plundered, and robbed;—deprived of the protection of their nearest and dearest relations, some by the fury of a merciless banditti; and others by the callous, and cold-blooded, persecution of a magistrate, they set out on their long, and dismal journey to Hudson's Bay*.—Of these

* To notice individual cases of severity amid such a mass of injustice, would be an useless task—but it may be mentioned, that, in consequence of these proceedings of Mr. M'Leod, Mr. Pritchard, (without any charge against him whatever, but merely by a citation as a witness,) was forcibly separated from his wife, though she was then far advanced in a state of pregnancy, and who (as he states in his narrative) never expected to see him

people, no certain intelligence has since been received in this country; and those who have the best means of forming an opinion upon the subject, look for the accounts of what they have since suffered, with the most serious apprehension.

What has been already stated might well raise a strong suspicion, that, although Mr. Norman M'Leod did not reach the Red River soon enough to share in the actual destruction of the settlement, he was on full, and rapid, march for that purpose. There could have been no other object in the numerous armed band of partners, clerks, half-breeds, &c. he brought with him.—It was evidently a preconcerted plan, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell was to pour down, upon the colony, his grand levy of Bois-Brulés from the North, or upper country, while Mr. Norman M'Leod was to advance against the settlement from another quarter? The latter, indeed, does not appear to have supposed that M'Donell had collected so large a force as he had actually assembled. At least, when the ruffians, after they had driven off the settlers, came down the Red River to pay their respects to the "major des tribus sauvages, et des pays conquis," he graciously told them that

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again. Heden, his fellow-prisoner, against whom also there was no accusation whatever, and who was merely cited, in a similar manner, as a witness, (*See his subpœna at the end of Appendix,* [C. C.]) was likewise separated from his wife, who, as admitted by the Brulé leaders, Grant and Fraser, had been particularly selected by the banditti as the intended object of their brutal violation.

he had not expected to find so many, and that he regretted he had not brought presents of clothing sufficient to reward all of them for their services; assuring them, at the same time, that those who did not then receive their remuneration, should have it, by the autumn canoes of the Company*. Some of those who were engaged in the massacre, and also in the robberies at Qui Appelle, and Brandon House, received their clothing afterwards at Fort William, as appears by Mr. Pambrun's deposition. Pambrun also states, that a Council was held at Red River, between M'Leod and those Brulés, and that he received them with open arms, and made them a regular speech; at which, however, Pambrun was not permitted to be present. But Lavigne, (the Canadian to whom Mr. Pritchard owed his life at the time of the massacre) was present, and has reported, in his deposition, Mr. Norman M'Leod's harangue to the banditti†.

The circumstance of Mr. M'Leod having thus cordially received, and rewarded, those persons who were active in the destruction of the colony, instead of taking measures to have the whole matter thoroughly, and legally investigated, may, of itself,

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* It appears by Blondeau's evidence, that Mr. M'Leod distributed, as rewards to the ruffians of the 19th of June, not only what he had brought with him to the Red River, but also articles of clothing, &c. which had been seized, after the massacre, from Lord Selkirk's stores at the settlement.—This was certainly a very *cheap* mode of paying them for their services. See Appendix, [Y.]

† See Appendix, [W.] page xxxvii.

be considered as strong presumptive proof of what he was himself preparing to execute. There is, however, other evidence of his hostile intentions against the settlement.—It appears by Mr. Bourke's deposition, that, when he was on his way to Fort William, as a prisoner, he overheard a conversation which took place between Mr. Alexander M'Donell, and another partner, who had come up with the expedition under Mr. M'Leod, in which they mutually talked of the different measures by which it had been proposed to effect the destruction of the colony. From what was then said, it may be inferred, that M'Donell's plan was to starve the settlers,—and M'Leod's to make a forcible attack upon them*.

In addition to this, Charles Bruce, whom Mr. Miles Macdonell took with him, last summer, to the Red River, as an interpreter of the Sautoux language, has deposed, that they met, on the 24th of June, several of theSautoux Indians of the country about Lac la Pluie, who informed them, that Mr. Norman M'Leod, in his way up, had assembled the Indians of that neighbourhood, and proposed to them to go up with him to the Red River, to release Mr. Duncan Cameron; and that if he (Cameron) was not given up, they would take him by force, and would give

* See Appendix, [B. B.] page liv. Alexander M'Donell's intention of starving the colony into submission, is not only confirmed by Bourke's deposition, but also by the fact of his having robbed the settlers of the six hundred bags of provisions, which was intended for their use, and that of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.—See also Appendix, [V.] page xxxiii.

the Indians, for their trouble, every thing which might be found in the fort. These Indians further said, that about twenty of their nation had accordingly joined M'Leod's party, some in their own canoes, and some in those of the North-West Company. This statement was confirmed by others of the Sautoux nation. Another band from the same quarter, said, that five Indians had likewise been prevailed upon by another partner of the North-West Company, two days before, to accompany him to the Red River, where Mr. Norman M'Leod, and many of the other partners, were then assembling*.

But, if any doubts should still remain of the views of Mr. Norman M'Leod, they will probably be removed by the perusal of the following letter, addressed by him, and several other partners who were then stationed, in the service of the North-West Company, at their trading post at the Fond du Lac Superior.

Fort William, 3rd June, 1816.

"Gentlemen,

"Our intelligence from the Red River is "very limited; but what we have heard gives us much un-"easiness; and, after various consultations, we have come "to the resolution of forwarding an express to you, to "request you will, as soon as possible, assemble as many of "the Indians as you can, by any means, induce to go to the "Red River to meet us there. We would suggest and "require, that Messrs. Morrison and Roussin should head "and accompany the Indians. Roe we expect to see at Lac "la Pluie, and we shall not fail to send him also to assist

* See Appendix, [A. A.]

" Mr. Morrison and Mr. Roussin. We also mean to take
" a few of the Lac la Pluie Indians along with us. We
" shall, and will, be guarded and prudent; we shall commit
" no extravagances, but we must not suffer ourselves to be
" imposed upon; nor can we submit quietly to the wrongs
" heaped upon us by a lawless, unauthorised, and inveterate
" opponent in trade.

" You will not hesitate to explain to the Indians the pur-
" pose for which we want them to meet us; possibly and
" most probably, their appearance may suffice; but in any
" case they shall be well and fully recompensed for their
" trouble. You who know the Indian character so well,
" make use of that experience to collect as many as you can
" in a short time, from fifteen to twenty, upwards, to one
" hundred.

" You will explain to the Chief, that we have king's
" officers and a few soldiers along with us, so that there is
" not the least doubt of the justice of our cause. We start
" from hence to-morrow in five light canoes; upwards of
" fifty men in all; and I think we shall be in Red River
" about the 17th of June, where we shall have to meet, if
" not all that we expect, at least Mr. Morrison and Mr.
" Roussin, with a few Indians, as an *avant garde*.

" Mr. Grant will take the whole weight and trouble of
" the affairs of the department on himself, no doubt, and
" give Messrs. Morrison and Roussin all the assistance the
" department can afford.

" Since writing the foregoing, Mr. Farries has determined
" to go to assist you, and proceed as quickly as possible to
" Red River. I am convinced you will be most happy to
" have his co-operation and aid, which you will find most
" useful.—Some articles that you may stand most in need
" of, are also sent.

" The letters written yesterday, if Mr. Farries overtakes
" the canoe, he will take. Positively no courier, or letters
" from the Hudson's Bay Company must be allowed to

"pass; they must all be sent to this place. A great deal "depends on your exertions, gentlemen; and we have great "confidence in the known influence of Messrs. Morrison "and Roussin over the natives.

"With much esteem,

"We remain, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient servants,

(Signed) "A. N. M'LEOD,

"*Agent N. W. Co.*

"R. HENRY,

"JOHN M'LAUGHLIN."

Messrs. Grant, Morrison, and Roussin.

The reader, in perusing this letter*, will, doubtless, have remarked how strongly it corroborates the declaration of the Chipewa Chief, (taken before the Council of the Indian Department in Canada) in which he states the attempts made by the North-West Company, and the bribes offered to him, to stir up the Indians of the Fond du Lac country, to commit hostilities against the Red River Settlement†.—It also completely confirms Bruce's deposition, in which it is stated that Mr. Norman M'Leod had prevailed upon a party of the Lac la Pluie Indians to join him and the other partners of the Company, in their expedition to the Red River‡.—What the object of that expedition was, may be easily supposed, if, in addition to the other proofs, reference be had

* This letter has been given in by two of the persons to whom it was addressed, and is referred to in declarations drawn up, and respectively signed, by them.

† See Appendix, [U.] ‡ See Appendix, [A. A.]

to the deposition of Sayer, a clerk and interpreter of the North-West Company, who was employed at Lac la Pluie by Mr. M'Leod to confer privately with one of the Indian chiefs, in order to ascertain whether he and his warriors would accompany them. Having obtained the chief's assent to the proposal, all the Indians about the place were immediately invited to a Council, at which Mr. M'Leod, and some of his partners, were present. Liquor and tobacco having been provided, and placed before the Indians, Sayer, as interpreter, was directed by Mr. M'Leod, to make a Speech to them. The result was, that the chief, with a party of Indians, joined M'Leod, and proceeded with him towards the Red River.—Sayer has further deposed "that the expressions which he was "instructed to use in the speech, were such as the "Indians would certainly understand as implying an "instruction to go to war against the opponents of "the North-West Company*."

There is another circumstance, the proof of which is most strongly confirmed by the contents of Mr. M'Leod's (and his partners) letter above quoted;—namely, the anxiety which has been all along shewn by the North-West Company, that some of the native Indians should be present at the acts of aggression against the colony, were it only as spectators. This seems to have been a constant object of the Company. —"Possibly," say these partners,—"and most "probably, their appearance, may suffice;—but in "any case they shall be well and fully recompensed,"

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* See Appendix, [E. E.]

&c. &c. When unable to instigate the native Indians to actual aggression, the next aim of the Company has been to get them to be witnesses of any hostile proceedings;—thus to serve a double purpose —to raise alarm in the minds of the European settlers, and to furnish an opportunity of ascribing whatever mischief might occur, to the alleged hostility of the Indians.

As an additional proof of this, it is worth while to notice the manner in which the intelligence of the death of Governor Semple and his party was first transmitted to this country.

The earliest accounts which arrived of that event, were conveyed in two letters from the agents of the North-West Company in Canada, to their corresponding agents in London. The one was dated from Montreal, the 17th of August,—the other was from Mr. William M'Gillivray, dated Fort William, the 17th of July last.—To those who considered, with any degree of attention, the purport of these accounts, (and to which a very free, and a very premature, circulation, was given at the time) it appeared that, although the melancholy event could scarcely be disbelieved, the story itself bore, in many respects, a very dubious appearance.—For a time it produced, however, the effect expected from it, and furnished the means of spreading calumny, and misrepresentation against the Earl of Selkirk, and his plans of colonization.

The letter from the agents at Montreal, stated, among other things, that " Lord Selkirk's colony on " the Red River has again been broken up, owing

" to the mad and infatuated violence of Governor " Semple and his people, who fired upon a party of " Indians conveying provisions to meet the North-" West Company's canoes from the interior.—The " Indians returned the fire, and rushing in upon " Semple's party, put the whole, including himself, " (about twenty in all) to death, excepting one man, " who escaped wounded, in an ammunition cart.— " The Indians immediately after, ordered away all " the settlers, with an injunction never to return, at " the peril of their lives. They offered them no " personal violence, and permitted them to carry " away their private effects, but retained the Gover-" nor's and Hudson's Bay Company's property, which " the Indians divided," &c. &c. &c.—And the letter concluded with the old story of the *compassion of the North-West Company*:—" We lament the loss " of life by such mad projects, which must open the " eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company, and compel " the interference of Government."

In this short extract, the reader has probably remarked, that *the Indians* are distinctly repeated no less than four times, as being the persons exclusively engaged in this act of hostility, or rather (as the writers would have it) of self-defence. It was evidently a main object of this story, that what had occurred should be ascribed, in this country, to Indian hostility;—but the tale was very ill told. No one who knew any thing of the state of that country, or of the friendly conduct which the native tribes of Indians had always shewn towards the European

settlers, gave credit to the report of warfare having been carried on between them. At all events, it appeared a very unaccountable part of the story, that the savages, after being thus wantonly fired upon, should, on gaining the victory, immediately throw aside the "indiscriminating hatchet,"—and, in place of scalping man, woman, and child,—sit coolly down, like prize agents,—draw up inventories of the captured property,—lay aside one portion, as being public stores, for the use of the captors, and generously give up another, as private effects, to the vanquished! Those also who had known Governor Semple, were confident that he was not a man to have acted, towards the unoffending Indians, with that "mad and infa-"tuated violence," thus ascribed to him;—a charge, which, in the absence of all evidence, and Mr Semple no longer alive to answer it, ought not to have been so wantonly, unjustly, and ungenerously, levelled against him. An unfortunate infatuation may, indeed, with some apparent justice, be ascribed to him, during these last acts of his life;—but, it was the infatuation of a brave and generous mind.—Too confident in his belief that the justice of his cause, and the bravery of his associates, would be more than sufficient to overawe the hired banditti assembled to oppose him, he had declined the proffered aid of those free Canadians, who had become attached to the settlement, as well as of the native Indians, who had voluntarily offered to come forward and assist him*.

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* See Page 82.

The other letter, which also brought intelligence of these occurrences to this country, was penned at Fort William by Mr. William M'Gillivray.—*His* story was better put together than that composed by the Company's agents, then at Montreal,—and no wonder,—for he had with him, at the time, one of his partners, who had just returned from the Red River, and who, knowing the facts of the case, could easily assist him in mixing up such a composition of what *had* occurred, with what *had not* occurred, as might answer the purpose, if not of misleading his Majesty's Government (to whom the letter was submitted on the part of the North-West Company) at least of bringing odium upon Lord Selkirk, and his plans. The detail of Mr. M'Gillivray's account, it would be superfluous to enter upon. The substance is comprised in that part of the deposition of Mr. Bourke, in which he swears to a conversation he overheard between two of the partners of the North-West Company, wherein one of them, Alexander M'Donell, stated, that, although the sending down the half-breeds was certainly carrying things to an extremity—" it might " be said, that Governor Semple, and those with him, " had gone out to attack them, (the Half-breeds) " and met their fate*." This shrewd suggestion of that able partisan, M'Donell, contains the groundwork of every thing detailed in Mr. M'Gillivray's letter, which finished with a climax not unworthy of one of those " Heads of the North-West Company,

* See Appendix, [B. B.] page liv.

" whose honourable character, and liberal principles" we have seen so highly rated in the year 1815, by the Provincial Government of Canada—namely, *that he* (M'Gillivray) *thought it very fortunate that none of the people belonging to the North-West Company were within a hundred miles of the spot, at the time, otherwise the blame would have been thrown upon them as usual!*

This restless anxiety to make the North-West Company appear innocent, before there was any accusation of guilt, raised a strong, and (as it has since proved) a well-founded, suspicion, that the persons, of whom Mr. M'Gillivray asserted none to have been within a hundred miles of the scene of aggression, were in fact not only then upon the spot, but were themselves the actual aggressors.

The anxiety indeed which the principal Agent of the Company in Canada felt on the subject, cannot be better displayed than in his own words, by which it will appear that he anticipated, with no small degree of alarm, the attempts which might be made to discover the truth, and to expose it.

Upon the 18th of July, the day after he wrote that letter from Fort William, which was laid by his partners before His Majesty's Secretary of State, he addressed another, from the same place, to a gentleman then at the Sault St. Mary, and evidently with the similar view of impressing upon the mind of his correspondent, and of those to whom he wished his account to be communicated, that the North-West Company were entirely free from any blame with regard to the occurrences at Red River.—

"The madness," says Mr. M'Gillivray, at the conclusion of his letter*, "for it cannot well be considered in any other light, "that could have induced Mr. Semple to attack a party of "armed men, who were passing quietly by his fort, and "studiously avoiding him, is unaccountable, but so it is, and "he has dearly paid for his temerity. The fact is, that the "system adopted in the Red River by the Earl of Selkirk's "people from *Governor* M'Donell downwards, is purely "American, which, you know, is any thing but conciliatory, "and the high language held of *right of soil*, charters, &c. "&c. sounds harsh in the ears of the natives, who consider, "and most justly too, that they are the proprietors of the "soil. It appears that the Brulés, including a few Indians, "amounted to the number of thirty. It does not appear "that they gave their opponents time to make at all use of "the field-piece, for I cannot learn that it was fired. The "man that had the charge of it, on being wounded, ran off "in the cart. I am the more particular in stating all the "facts that have come to my knowledge (and I believe they "are the occurrences that really happened) as the story will "be told in a thousand ways,—that Mr. M'Leod, and Mr. "A., and Mr. B. of the North-West Company, with Brulés, "and Indians, force and arms, destroyed the Colony, man, "woman, and child, sparing only a miserable remnant to "carry the news to York Factory. I am used to this sort "of cant, therefore would not be surprised to hear that the "story is told in this manner. I shall make no comments, "but conclude.

(Signed) "Wm. M'GILLIVRAY."

* In this letter the writer also stated,—"There were none of "our people within hundreds of miles of the place at the time "the affair happened, which is a most fortunate circumstance, "for, no doubt, as usual we should have the credit of it."

Although the writer of this letter chooses to "make no comments," it is not unlikely that the reader will,—and that, "of the thousand ways" in which it was apprehended the story might be told, he will probably select only one, and *that* the very one which the writer appears so afraid of, namely, that Mr. Norman M'Leod, and Mr. A. and Mr. B. of the North-West Company, with Brulés (*Indians* can scarcely be said to be numbered in their muster-roll) *did* destroy the colony with force and arms,—and if they did not exterminate man, woman, and child, it was not because Mr. A. and Mr. B. &c. &c. were not very well inclined so to do, but because Mr. Cuthbert Grant, their Half-breed clerk, the day after the massacre, at the intercession of Mr. Pritchard, fortunately saved them from the fate with which they were threatened.

It appears unnecessary to continue the subject any further,—unless it be to request the reader's attentive perusal of the depositions and other documents subjoined in the Appendix, and referred to throughout this Statement.—These form but a small portion of the evidence which has been received as connected with the subject;—but enough has been brought forward, to refute calumny, and to correct misrepresentation,—enough to satisfy every impartial reader, that what is asserted in a former part of this Statement, is but too well-founded, namely—that, from the first knowledge of an intention to form a colony upon the Red River, the North-West Company

determined to prevent it;—that, in pursuance of this determination, they adopted, both in this country, and abroad, such measures as appeared to them best calculated to carry their resolution into effect;—that, in doing so, they did not scruple as to the means which were to be employed;—that their hostile operations increased in proportion as the probable success of the settlement became more apparent;—and that, at length, they proceeded to those unjustifiable measures which have terminated in the massacre of their fellow-subjects.

The transactions which have been pointed out are of a character not likely to be met with in any other part of the British Empire, and evidently call for a rigid, and speedy inquiry. In aid of such inquiry let those cordially join, who, although commercially connected with that powerful body, the North-West Company of Montreal, must have been kept in total ignorance of the proceedings which have thus ended in savage murders.—"That these murders," says Mr. Pritchard, in concluding his narrative,—and, after a residence of thirteen years at the Red River, he is no mean authority,—"that these murders "of my friends and fellow settlers might have been "prevented, if the partners of the North-West "Company had been, in general, so disposed, is a "point upon which no doubt can exist in the "mind of any man who is acquainted with the "state of the country.—It is a fact, which I can "safely assert in the presence of Almighty God, "and in the face of the world."—To put an end to such a system of atrocity, it is obvious that no

means should be neglected, nor any exertion spared. —Every measure which the Law can sanction, or the Executive power can enforce, should be strenuously adopted, to bring to a close that iron age of oppression, which has so long prevailed in the interior of British North America, and to put a final stop to those proceedings which his Majesty's Government had marked as being "so fatal to the "tranquillity of our possessions in that quarter, and "so disgraceful to the British name."

[OBSERVATIONS.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

"A NARRATIVE OF OCCURRENCES, IN THE INDIAN COUNTRIES OF NORTH AMERICA," &c.

THE Reader has already been informed, in the Advertisement prefixed to the foregoing Statement, that shortly after the account of the transactions contained in it had been printed and circulated, chiefly among Lord Selkirk's personal friends and acquaintance, a Work avowedly sanctioned by the Agents of the North-West Company was published, under the title of "*A Narrative of Occurrences* "*in the Indian Countries of North America,* "*since the Connexion of the Right Honourable* "*the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay* "*Company, and his Attempt to establish a Co-* "*lony on the Red River; with a detailed Account* "*of his Lordship's Military Expedition to, and* "*subsequent Proceedings at Fort William in Upper* "*Canada.*" To that publication a Postscript is subjoined, in which some observations are made upon the printed Statement, in consequence of which, but chiefly on account of the assertions appearing throughout the whole of the "Narrative," it has been thought fit to reprint the Statement itself, with some additional matter, and to lay it before the Public.—The North-West Company having submitted to that tribunal their account of the proceedings alluded to,

it is but just that the Public should be also furnished with the other side of the case; in addition to which the reader's attention is requested to the following Observations, which the perusal of the "Narrative" and "Postscript" has naturally occasioned.

By the Preface to the "Narrative," &c. it would seem that in consequence of the publication last year of Lord Selkirk's "*Sketch of the British Fur Trade* "*in North America, with Observations relative to* "*the North-West Company of Montreal,*" a reply to that Work had been intended on the part of the Company; but, upon further consideration, it appears to have been deemed more advisable to change the plan, and, instead of attempting to refute the charges contained in the "Sketch" itself, the more easy task was preferred of directing a personal attack upon its Author.—"The object in the following "pages," as stated in their Preface, "is not to "refute the charges and calumnies of Lord Selkirk "against the North-West Company in general, but "to exhibit a faithful narrative of the occurrences "which had taken place since the Earl of Selkirk "was first brought into their neighbourhood by his "political or commercial speculations."—As therefore the North-West Company have not thought fit to refute what is contained in the "Sketch of the "Fur Trade," it is not unreasonable to conclude that they were unable to refute it:—and with respect to the "faithful Narrative of Occurrences," which they have substituted in the room of any attempt to effect such refutation, it will not be a matter of much difficulty to satisfy the impartial reader that their Work is far from deserving so honourable a title.

It is stated, in their Preface, that the Agents, or "Representatives of the North-West Company have "been furnished by their Constituents, with the most "ample materials for their defence," and that the documents proving the authenticity of the facts and occurrences detailed in their Narrative, are thrown into the Appendix annexed to that publication. "To that Appendix," say they, "the reader's at-"tention is earnestly entreated; and it will be found "to contain positive proof of almost every fact as-"serted in the text."—To that Appendix, the attention of the reader of these Observations is also earnestly requested; and, as the Representatives of the North-West Company place such reliance upon the documents which their Appendix contains, as affording positive proof of the facts they have thought fit to assert, it seems advisable, previous to making some general remarks upon the Narrative itself, to examine the materials upon which it is thus stated to be grounded.—Before we notice the superstructure, it will be proper to inspect the foundation.

These materials are comprised in twenty-nine different documents; which, as far as it may seem at all requisite to advert to them, shall be noticed in the order in which they appear numbered in their Appendix.

No. I.

"*Protest of Proprietors of the Hudson's Bay "Company, against the Grant to Lord Selkirk.*"

This document was adverted to in the preceding Statement, (page 7) and noticed as exhibiting one of

the early symptoms of that hostility which afterwards so strongly marked the conduct of the North-West Company with respect to the Settlement upon the Red River.—Nothing which was therein stated on the subject of that Protest, is controverted in the publication alluded to. Indeed, in the Postscript to the Narrative, it is now admitted that those persons concerned for the North-West Company, who signed the Protest, procured the Stock for the purpose of defeating the Grant to the Earl of Selkirk, or (as the Company's Representatives express it) "the designs "then meditated against their Trade."

"The Protest, however," they add, "as a Pro-"test of Hudson's Bay Proprietors, must stand on "its own merits*." Be it so. But whether it be a good protest, or a bad protest, it can surely afford neither excuse for, nor extenuation of the aggressions against the Red River Colony.—At all events those of the Company's Representatives who subscribed their names to that document, have contradicted, in their *Narrative*, what they asserted in their *Protest.* "To the North-West Company," they observe in their Narrative, "this establishment," (the Red River Colony) "was peculiarly objectionable: "they denied the right of the Hudson's Bay Com-"pany, or Lord Selkirk, to *any part* of the territory "ceded to him, of which their predecessors and "themselves had been in occupancy for at least a "century.†" In their "Protest," however, they

* Postscript to Narrative, page 132.

† Narrative, page 9.

fully admit *every part* of the territory in question to belong to the Hudson's Bay Company; objecting, indeed, to *the extent* of the grant proposed to be made of it, or, in their own words, to so large a grant of "that part of the territory which is most valuable, "—fit for cultivation,—and constitutes no inconsi-"derable portion of the Company's Capital Stock." In another part they object to the Hudson's Bay Company selling "so large and valuable a portion "of their territory;" and again, they protest against the measure, "because, upon a fair and impartial "estimation of the future value, and importance of "the lands proposed to be granted, and the limited "and unproductive consideration to be given by the "said Earl, your Memorialists cannot perceive for "the said Grant, any other motive than to secure "to the posterity of the said Earl, at the expense of "the Stockholders of the said Company, an im-"mensely valuable landed Estate."—It thus appears evident that the Representatives of the North-West Company, or their Constituents, or both, *admit*, or *deny*, that the lands in question belong to the Hudson's Bay Company, just as the admission or denial may chance best to suit their purpose; and if, as far as the argument with respect to the Right of Soil is concerned, their "Protest" is to stand upon its own merits, their "Narrative," (as much, at least, as relates to the same topic) must, of course, fall to the ground*.

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* In the Postscript to their Narrative, (page 132,) the Representatives state that "it must always be remembered that it"

No. 2.

" Lord Selkirk's Advertisement and Prospectus of " the New Colony."

This document was neither advertised, nor published, nor, in any shape, publicly circulated. It formed part of a sketch of which the Earl of Selkirk had a few copies printed for his own convenience, and for private circulation among a very limited number of his friends, whom he wished to consult about the measures he was then entering into, as connected with his plans of colonization.—But even if the Prospectus, unfinished, and incomplete as it was, had been advertised and publicly circulated, which it was not, it may fairly stand, (in the language of the "Narrative,") upon its own merits.—But the Representatives of the North-West Company, in *remarking upon* its contents, have no right to *alter* or *misstate* them. This, however, they do even with respect to the very first sentence of the document, as printed by themselves.—That document states the soil and climate (with reference to the site

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(the Protest) " was signed by every person present at the " meeting except Lord Selkirk, and the members of the Direc- " tion."—This is not the fact. Their Protest was not signed by every person present at the meeting, except Lord Selkirk and the members of the Direction.—There were more proprietors present (exclusive of Lord Selkirk and the Directors) who *did not* sign the protest, than those who *did*.

With similar accuracy have they subjoined a Note to the Protest, as printed in their Appendix, in which they also state that (of the Proprietors present) " John Fish was authorised to vote " for John Hamborough, and did so."—John Fish neither voted for himself, nor for John Hamborough.

of the Grant) to be "inferior to none in British "America."—This is immediately translated into the Narrative (page 15,) and Lord Selkirk stated to have represented the climate and soil as being "superior "to any in British North America."—With respect to the *climate*, those who represent the North-West Company admit (page 6) that "it is undoubtedly "healthy," and it does not appear that they elsewhere contradict themselves. It is otherwise with regard to the *soil*.—In their Protest it has already been shewn that, in treating of the grant, they describe it as forming a part of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory "which is most valuable,—fit for cultiva-"tion," &c. &c.—But in their Narrative (page 7) they state the country in the neighbourhood of the Red River Settlement as consisting of extensive plains, where "the soil, excepting partially on the banks of "the rivers, is light and unproductive."

The following letter from Mr. Pritchard, (a gentleman whose name has frequently been noticed in the Statement,) written some years ago, will probably be deemed a better authority on this subject than the Narrative.

"Montreal, *4th October*, 1814.

"Sir,

"In answer to your queries, concerning the climate "and natural productions of Red River, I have the honour "to present you with the following Statement:

"I have resided thirteen years on Red River, and have "always been in the habit of cultivating its soil; and from "experience can take upon myself to say, that the climate "is much the same as in Upper Canada; that is, the winters "are of a shorter duration, and much milder, than those "experienced at Quebec.

"Last summer I had water melons sown in the open "ground on the 4th of June, which were ripe early in September; the largest weighing 13lbs. The musk melons "and cucumbers were as large, and as well flavoured, as I "ever met with at a fruit-shop in London. Turnips sown "the 25th of June, were fit for the table about the middle "of August. In October one of them weighed 14½lbs. "One bushel of potatoes will produce from forty to fifty "bushels.

"Wheat, barley, and rye I have only seen in small quantities; but I am of opinion, that no country will produce "a more abundant crop, or with so little trouble, as on Red "River.

"The natural produce of the soil, is wild flax, wild rice, "cherries, pears, raspberries, strawberries, grapes, bush "cranberries, currants, plums, crab apples, and different "roots, which the Indians prepare as food. The plains "likewise abound with medicinal herbs and roots. Salt "springs are very common; and the sugar maple is to be "found in every point.

"I need not mention the immense herds of buffaloe that "graze on the plains, or the number of elk and moose deer "that inhabit the woods.

"A line, with sixty hooks, set across any part of the river, "will give you from sixty to a hundred catfish per day, "each weighing from 9 to 25lbs. besides sturgeon, and "many other fish peculiar to North America, may be taken "in great abundance with nets. In the fall and spring, "wild fowl of almost all descriptions are very common. "The general price of a buffaloe, as large as an English ox, "is from twenty to thirty rounds of ammunition, or from "three-fourths to one pound of tobacco.

"But the real value of the country, is the fertility of its "soil, and the facility that Nature offers to the industrious of "obtaining the reward of his labour. Here a luxuriant "soil only asks the labour of the ploughman; not a root or

"stump requires to be taken up. The lands are already
"cleared. The plains present you with a pasturage of
"many hundred miles in extent; and your horses and cows,
"except those required to be milked, may be left out all
"winter. In truth, I know of no country that offers so
"many advantages: an exceeding wholesome climate, a
"fertile soil, fish, flesh, and fowls in abundance; and sugar
"and salt for the trouble of making them. In fact, all the
"necessaries and all the luxuries that are useful to mankind,
"are to be found there. Society only is wanting.

"I trust, my good Sir, you will pardon the cursory manner in which this is written. Being on the eve of my departure, I hope will plead an excuse; and believe me, though hastily written, the foregoing statements are strictly correct.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN PRITCHARD."

"COLIN ROBERTSON, Esq."

No. 3.

"*Admeasurement of the Distance and Stations between York Factory and Lord Selkirk's Colony; by David Thompson, Geographer to the North-West Company.*"

This document merits very little notice.—It would appear however, that, with respect to the contents of it, the Representatives contradict even their own Geographer.—*He* states the distance from York Factory, at Port Nelson in Hudson's Bay, to the Forks of Red River, (the situation of Lord Selkirk's colony) to be seven hundred and twenty-five miles: —but *they*, in their observation, subjoined to his

"Admeasurement," &c. call the distance from York Factory to Red River nine hundred and forty-five miles*. They appear, indeed, not only to differ from *their Geographer,* but from *themselves,* having already, in their Protest, stated the distance from any sea port to be two thousand miles!

In their observation, however, with respect to the dreary, barren, and inhospitable tract between Lake Winipic and the coasts of Hudson's Bay they are more correct;—a tract in which they state that "the "wretches who should chance to lose their canoe "must, to a certainty, perish!"—And this was the region to which several of the partners of the North-West Company, headed by Mr. Norman M'Leod, the Magistrate, one of the principal Agents of the Company, drove the settlers, a few days subsequent to the massacre at Red River, after plundering them of their property, burning their habitations, and depriving them of their provisions†.

Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

These contain the opinions of Counsel upon points submitted to them on the part of the North-West Company with respect to the validity of the Hudson's Bay Charter, &c.

The two first, No. 4 and 5 (as likewise a great part of No. 6.) relate entirely to the right of *exclusive trade* specified in the Charter, and to the provisions

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* Appendix to "Narrative of Occurrences," No 3, page 10.

† See page 96 of Statement.

contained therein for the purpose of maintaining that right,—such as preventing free passage through their territory, seizing persons and property, confiscating goods, &c. : but as no attempt is made, except by vague assertion, to shew that the Hudson's Bay Company claim those rights, it does not appear very obvious for what purpose legal opinions are referred to which militate against claims that are not made. —That these claims, in fact, are not made, may be gathered from the memorial* which was presented to his Majesty's Secretary of State, in February, 1814, by the Agents of the North-West Company themselves; by which it appears, that the memorialists and their predecessors have, for a long course of years, and without obstruction to their transit, pushed their Trade through that very part of those territories, which, in their protest, they have admitted to belong to the Hudson's Bay Company, and which they strenuously admonished the Company not to part with.

With respect to the document, No. 6, it cannot be thought requisite that any discussion should be entered upon, in these Observations. The legal opinions and argument contained in it are detailed at great length; and the reader, on perusing, and considering them, must judge for himself.—At all events they appear, in their result, to be diametrically opposite to those inserted in Appendix, [A.]†.

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* See Appendix to Narrative, page 57.

† It appears doubtful whether the N. W. Company, in asking the opinion of Counsel, with respect to the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter, ever submitted to such Counsel a copy of the Charter itself.—When the Opinion of Mr. Gibbs (now the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas) was

Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

We come now to the more important part of those "ample materials," furnished to the Representatives of the North-West Company by their Constituents, *viz.* the affidavits, depositions, and other proofs upon which the facts asserted in their Narrative are stated to be founded.

The six documents, numbered as above, are depositions of several of the settlers and others, who were brought down to Canada by the North-West Company, after the destruction of the colony in the summer of 1815.—The first of these (numbered 7) is ushered in by a note, in page 16 of their Narrative, in which they announce that, "Amongst many other "affidavits of the unfortunate people who were so "deceived," (*viz.* the settlers deceived by Lord Selkirk,) "one by George Campbell will be found "in the Appendix, No. VII*."—In case the reader should not have the "Narrative of Occurrences" at hand for reference, a copy of Campbell's deposition, (as printed in that publication) is inserted in the

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asked, he certainly neither was furnished with a copy, or even abstract, of the Charter. This appears by his answer to the 5th point, as printed in document No. 5, of their Appendix.

* The assertion of the advocates of the North-West Company that Lord Selkirk deceived, cheated, and starved the settlers, is absurd on the face of it.—By the terms of his Grant, he was bound for so many years, under a heavy penalty, to send out annually a certain number of persons to Hudson's Bay. It was besides his main and anxious wish and object to promote the increase of the Settlement which he had undertaken. And in order to encourage others to emigrate to the same quarter, he forsooth cheated and starved those who had already gone to the Red River!

Appendix to this Statement*, and by a perusal of it, he will be fully enabled to judge whether its contents are entitled to the degree of importance attached to them by those who have so triumphantly produced his affidavit.

This "unfortunate" man (Campbell) as the reader may recollect, was one of those, who, in the winter of 1814-15, deserted from the Red River settlement, where, as stated by him in the conclusion of his affidavit, "finding his treatment the reverse to what he "was led to expect from Lord Selkirk's representa-"tions, and for the reasons specified in this deposi-"tion, he judged it expedient to return to Canada," (where, by the bye, he had never been) "and, for "that purpose, requested a passage from Red River, "from Mr. Duncan Cameron, a proprietor in the "North-West Company, which was granted.—And "farther this deponent says not.—

(Signed) "GEORGE CAMPBELL."

The only sensible part of this affidavit is its conclusion—"farther this deponent says not." For had Mr. George Campbell "judged it expedient" farther to say, he might inadvertently have told the truth, and thereby deserted the cause of his second patrons, as he had already, by his treachery, deserted that of his first. Had this "unfortunate man" gone on deposing, he might have chanced, and with the strictest truth, to have added, "And this deponent farther saith he was the principal person who deserted from

* See Appendix, [F. F.]

the Settlement, broke his contract, and defrauded his employer;—that he not only did so himself, but acted as the ringleader, among the other deserters whom he prevailed upon to follow his example;—that he afterwards headed an armed band, under the directions of the said Duncan Cameron, the North-West Company's partner, for the purpose of plundering the storehouse of the Settlement, and robbing it of the field pieces, swivels, &c. which had been provided for its security;—that one of his brother deserters having been apprehended for assisting in said robbery, deponent, at the desire of said partner, again headed a party of armed men composed of the North-West Company's clerks, servants, and others, and by force of arms rescued the person who was so apprehended;—that, after depriving, as before-mentioned, his fellow settlers of their means of effectual resistance, deponent further "judged it expedient" to assist in attacking them with fire arms, by which several of them were severely wounded, and one of whom died of his wounds;—that, after said colony was destroyed, and the houses burnt to the ground, deponent was taken down by said North-West Company to their trading post of Fort William in Canada, where he found many of the partnership then assembled;—that said partners received deponent with great cordiality and respect;—that they praised him highly for his conduct, and did him the honour of placing him at table in their dining hall at Fort William next to themselves, and above the regular clerks in the Company's service. Deponent further saith, that a Book, or debtor and creditor

Account, was opened at Fort William between said Company, and said deserters, which book is marked and entitled "The Red River and Colonial Register, 1815;"—that to his, (deponent's) account in said book is added, in the hand writing, and with the signature of said partner Cameron, the following "faithful narrative," *viz.* "that he, (deponent) was a very decent man, and a great partizan, "who had exposed his life for the North-West Company;—that he had been of essential service in the "transactions of Red River, and deserved at least "£100 Halifax, and every other service that could "be rendered to him by said Company; and that "rather than his (deponent's) merits and services "should go unrewarded, he (Cameron) would give "£100 out of his own pocket, though already a "great loser by his campaign at Red River."—Deponent further saith, that as a remuneration for said services in attacking the settlement, pillaging the stores, burning the houses, and shedding the blood of his fellow settlers, he judged it expedient to accept said £100, from said Company*, and which sum was accordingly paid to him by one of the honourable Company's clerks, his worthy friend Mr. Robert M'Robb."

Of a similar character with Campbell's deposition, No. 7, are the "other affidavits of the unfortunate people who were so deceived," and which are numbered (in the Appendix to the "Narrative") 8 to 12 inclusive. Of these the Representatives of the

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* See page 32, also Appendix, [S.] page xxviii.

North-West Company, in a note in page 25 of their publication, say, "the best evidence of these, and "the future transactions, is that of the persons en-"gaged in them; under the order of M'Donell, "which will be found in the affidavits in the Appen-"dix, viz. No. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12."

If the reader think it necessary to pay attention to these depositions, he may be informed that, of the Deponents, James Pinkman (No. 9,) deserted in debt to his employer £18 3*s*. for articles delivered to him at the settlement. He also stole six guns, which he sold to the North-West Company, and for which he received a credit, in the book of account before alluded to, of £10 15*s*. as appears entered in the hand writing of one of the partners themselves. Another of these unfortunate deponents, Hugh Swords (No. 10) had likewise an account opened with him at Fort William, in which credit is allowed him by the North-West Company for £16. 2*s*. 10*d*. for articles brought away from the settlement, and delivered to the Company. To this amount was added £20 as a reward for his services. What his services were is sufficiently evident, from the note, subjoined to his account, in the hand-writing of the North-West Company's partner, Alexander M'Donell. "His," (Hugh Sword's) "behaviour towards us has been that of a true partisan, "steady, brave, and resolute man, and was some-"thing of a leading character among his country-"men, and deserves at least about £20."—James Golden, another of these unfortunate deponents (No. 11.) also decamped in debt to the settlement, (£19. 19*s*.) His account at Fort William was likewise

written out, and signed by the same partner, Alexander M'Donell, and credit was given him for £13. 17*s*. 6*d*. being the amount of articles brought away from the settlement. And a further allowance of £20 for services which are also best described in the note subjoined to his account in the hand-writing, and with the signature, of the same partner, *viz*. "An active, smart fellow—left the "Hudson's Bay Company in April last—a true par- "tisan, steady, and brave—took a most active part "in the campaign of this spring, and deserves from "£15 to £20.—He had lost about £20, by "leaving the Hudson's Bay Company a month be- "fore the expiration of his contract."

But enough of these wretched Depositions, which are rendered not the less disgusting by being attested before a principal Agent of the North-West Company, Mr. Norman M'Leod—a fit magistrate to take such affidavits! What reliance can be put on narratives grounded upon such rotten materials? or what dependance ought to be placed upon affidavits procured under the direction of those, who, to serve their purposes of deception, obtain Depositions by seducing and bribing the Deponents?

No. 13.

" *Speech of the* Grandes Oreilles, *a great*
" *chief of the Chippeways, made in the Indian*
" *Hall, at the Forks of Red River, on the 19th*
" *of June, 1814; addressed to several of the*
" *partners of the North-West Company. The*
" *chief holding a string of wampum in his hands*
" *tied at both ends.*"

This Speech, with its magnificent Title, bears every appearance of having been composed, for the occasion, by those who wished it to be believed that the North-West Company had sufficient influence over the Indians to make them commit acts of violence against the Red River settlement, had such been the wish of the Company.

Without at all admitting that the North-West Company possessed such influence over any considerable portion of the native tribes, it should be recollected that, at the date of this alleged speech, those partners, whose outrages against the colony became afterwards so conspicuous, had not proceeded to the *foul* means hinted at in the letter of their partner, Mr. Alexander M'Donell, of the 5th of August, 1814*. They no doubt expected, at that time, that the settlement would be destroyed by what they considered as *fair* means, namely, by *threats, intimidation, seduction,* and *bribery*. And if these failed, it

* See page 11, Statement.

was time enough, as they thought, to have recourse to the hostility of such allies as the Grandes Oreilles, and to raise the Indians against the settlement in the mode directed by their agent Mr. Norman M'Leod, in his letter of the 3rd of June, 1816*.

The very first sentence of the speech of Grandes Oreilles is sufficient to throw doubt upon its authenticity. "Traders, my children, when I first heard "of the troubles you were in at this place, my heart "became sorry, and the tears ran down my cheeks." A most unIndian-like acknowledgment, even after making every allowance for the figurative language of a Chippewa chief. But a Chippewa chief would scarcely, at a Council held with the Partners of the North-West Company, have addressed them in the words "my children." He would have addressed the principal partner present by the title of "Father," and styled himself and his people "Children." Thus in the speech of the Chippewa chief of Sand Lake, at the council held in Upper Canada by the members of the Indian Department (an extract of which, taken from the minutes of that Department, has been already referred to) he invariably addressed himself to the principal member present by the title of "Father," and was answered by him with the expression of "my Child." When the Indian chiefs also came to offer their assistance to Governor Semple and the settlers, they said, in the council that was held on that occasion, that they came to

* See page 100, Statement.

ask their "Father's" advice; and that if their "Father" wanted aid, they and their warriors would come and assist him, &c.

"*What,*" exclaims Grandes Oreilles, speaking of the settlers, "*what* are these land workers? *what* "brought them here? *who* gave them *our* lands?" (did the Chippewa chief select the words which were to be printed in italics?) "and how do they dare to "prevent our Traders from purchasing whatever we "have to give them upon our own lands?" Our own lands! Who then, after all, are to be considered as the true and rightful owners of these most *debateable* lands? The Hudson's Bay Company most pertinaciously maintain that, by virtue of their Charter, these lands belong to them,—a claim fully admitted by those who were concerned for the North-West Company, and who signed the Protest against granting away so large an extent of the Hudson's Bay territories. But in their Narrative (page 9,) the Representatives say that their Constituents deny the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to *any part* of the lands in question, of which they state their predecessors, and themseves have had the occupancy for at least a century. This again is contradicted by their own Grandes Oreilles maintaining that these lands belong to the Native Indians. Then comes the principal Agent of the North-West Company, Mr. William M'Gillivray, claiming the territory in behalf of the *Half-breed Bois-Brulés,* "who," says he, "consider themselves as possessors of the country, "and lords of the soil*." And last of all, Mr.

* See note, page 35, of Statement.

Simon M'Gillivray, another agent of the Company, makes his appearance, and entering a caveat against both *Half-breeds*, and *Whole-breeds*, would make his Majesty's Government believe, that the lands in question belong to the United States*. It would be vain to attempt to reconcile these contradictions of the Company; and the hint with which their own Chippewa Orator concludes his speech (if it be his speech) appears not unaptly addressed to those who composed his audience:—" These are my words" says Grandes Oreilles, " and I have not two mouths."

No. 14.

" *Resolutions of the Hudson's Bay Company,* " *19th May*, 1815."

It seems unnecessary to occupy much of the reader's attention on the subject of this article. In promoting their views of establishing settlers within the Hudson's Bay territory, the Company thought it incumbent upon them to do all in their power to make regulations which might tend to secure as efficient an administration of justice as circumstances would admit.—The Resolutions in question were accordingly founded upon the legal opinions which they had obtained†, and were submitted to, and approved by Counsel.

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* See conclusion of Mr. S. M'Gillivray's letter to Earl Bathurst, Appendix, [D. D.] page lxiv.

† See the opinions of Sir Samuel Romilly and the other Counsel. Appendix, [A.]

"The resolutions," (says the Narrative, page 45) "were, as usual, opposed by all the members of the "Company present, except the noble Lord, and the "Committee, but these being the majority, opposi-"tion was ineffectual*. After some discussion the "names of the persons appointed to the different "offices were also communicated, and the surprise "of the persons representing the interests of the "Canadian traders, who were also members of the "Hudson's Bay Company, may be easily conceived, "when they learnt that Mr. Macdonell, against "whom warrants were issued on information upon "oath, of acts of felony committed by him, was "appointed the second person in command, and "administration of justice throughout the territories "of the Hudson's Bay Company." But, did the persons representing the interests of the Canadian traders imagine that the Hudson's Bay Company would, without better information, pay attention to warrants alleged to be issued by such a magistrate as Mr. Norman M'Leod, upon informations, on oath, of such informants as Messrs. George Campbell, Pinkman, Golden, &c. &c. with respect to

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* No bad reason for an "opposition being ineffectual," *viz.* it being left in the minority!—With respect to the assertion in the Narrative that "the resolutions were, as usual, opposed by "all the members of the Company present, except the noble "Lord, and the Committee," this, "as usual," is not the fact.—There were none who opposed the resolutions but those agents of the North-West Company who were present, with the exception of one small proprietor of £100 stock.

acts of felony which the lawyers, consulted by the North-West Company themselves, state to be *no felony?*—"From the best legal opinions in this "country," say the Representatives in a letter to the Secretary of State, of the 1st of February, 1816, "it "will be impossible to proceed further, as the defen- "dants" (Mr. Miles Macdonell, and Mr. Spencer) "evidently acted under a misapprehension of autho- "rity, and no sufficient proof can be adduced of a "felonious intent*."—As the Representatives of the North-West Company thus pay proper respect to the opinions of their legal advisers, the Hudson's Bay Company may also be permitted to confide in the learned Counsel whom they have consulted, and by whose sanction the Resolutions alluded to were entered into.

No. 15, 16, 17, and 18.

These are depositions taken of several of the clerks and others in the North-West Company's service, and relate to the aggressions stated to have been committed against that Company chiefly by Mr. Colin Robertson.—It may be recollected that after the dispersion of the settlers in the summer of 1815, when those of the colonists, who would not be seduced by

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* See Appendix to "Narrative," No. 26, page 19, in which the Counsel employed by the North-West Company say that they (Macdonell and Spencer) could not be properly convicted on a charge of felony.

the North-West Company, had gone to Jack River House, at the north end of Lake Winnipic, they were soon afterwards accidentally joined at that place by Mr. Robertson, who was engaged in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.—Finding that these settlers were disposed to return to the Red River, he volunteered to take charge of them; and, with the addition of a few Canadians who were with him, they accordingly went back to the Settlement*.

Throughout the "Narrative" an impression is attempted to be fixed upon the mind of the reader, by those who represent the North-West Company, that Mr. Robertson was an agent of the Earl of Selkirk; and that whatever measures were adopted by that gentleman after the return of the settlers, Lord Selkirk is to be considered accountable for them.—Mr. Robertson, however, was neither an agent for Lord Selkirk, nor in any shape engaged, or employed by him, or under his directions.—Lord Selkirk, indeed, was ignorant, till the spring of 1816, that the Colony was re-established. Lagimoniere, the Canadian who brought from Red River to Montreal the intelligence of its re-establishment, found, to his surprise, that his Lordship was in that place. Neither Mr. Robertson nor the settlers knew that he was in America; and Lagimoniere, on his way back to the settlement, having been way-laid, and robbed of his letters, &c. by the directions of the North-West Company, and prevented from pro-

* See page 68 of Statement.

ceeding to Red River*, the colonists knew nothing of Lord Selkirk's being in Canada, till they were informed of it after the second destruction of the settlement, when met, in their journey towards the coast of Hudson's Bay, by Mr. Norman M'Leod and the other partners, as has been already stated†.

The depositions above-mentioned (No. 15, 16, 17, and 18,) detail various acts of alleged violence, and felony, ascribed to Mr. Robertson. If he has committed such acts, he, of course, will be amenable to the law for what he may have done. He will, however, be heard in his defence; and the reader who recollects what has been already stated relative to the plots which were discovered to be again preparing against the colonists, and "the "storm gathering in the North," which was to burst on the heads of the settlers‡, &c. will probably think that Mr. Robertson's defence will not prove unsuccessful. But whether the result be his acquittal, or his conviction, in neither case can it be admitted that his conduct, right or wrong, can, in any shape, excuse or palliate the aggression and outrage instigated by the North-West Company against the Settlement.

No. 19.

This is also a Deposition of one of the Clerks of the North-West Company; and is produced for the

* See note, page 41. † See page 90 of Statement.
‡ See page 71 of Statement.

purpose of proving that Mr. Alexander M'Donell, the Company's partner, whom we have seen so active in the destruction of the Red River Settlement, in the years 1815 and 1816, meant no harm to the settlers, when he sent off his armed party of Bois-Brulés under Cuthbert Grant, from the Portage des Prairies; but that he directed them "not to go near the "establishment or colony of the Hudson's Bay "Company, near the Forks of the Red River, nor "on any account to molest any of the settlers," &c. &c.—This affidavit requires no observation*.

No. 20, 21, and 22.

These Depositions relate chiefly to the proceedings which occurred at Fort William on Lake Superior, when Lord Selkirk first arrived at that place:—and as the account of those transactions occupies a great part of the "Narrative of Occurrences," the remarks with respect to them shall be offered when we advert to the work itself generally, as referring to that part of the subject.—The substance of these depositions, (No. 20, 21, and 22,) shall then be noticed†.

It should be observed, however, that, with respect to No. 20, *viz.* the *Deposition of Lieutenants Brumby and Misani,* their affidavit purports to be "sworn "at Montreal;" but the name of no magistrate is affixed to it.—In ordinary cases such an omission would not be worth mentioning, and might naturally

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* See Statement, p. 71. 79, &c.   † See Observations, p. 158.

be ascribed to an accidental mistake in the copy, or to an error of the press.—But, in every thing which relates to the "ample materials" before us, the reader cannot be too much on his guard ; and in the case of the document in question, it is not at all unlikely that it will be subsequently found that no affidavit was made at all, or that, for some purpose which is not avowed, it has not been deemed prudent to annex the name of the magistrate by whom the deposition was taken. As the document however purports to be signed by two British officers, it shall be looked upon, in this case, as of equal weight with a more regular deposition, and considered accordingly.

No. 23.

"To the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, His "Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for "War and Colonies."

"The Memorial and Petition of M'Tavish, Fraser, "and Co. and Inglis, Ellice, and Co. of London, "Merchants, on their own behalf, and on behalf "of other persons interested in the North-West "Company of Fur Traders of Canada."

This Memorial does not appear to require much notice in these Observations. — His Majesty's Government to whom it was officially addressed were the best judges of its object and contents. The memorialists, it would seem, received only a verbal answer to their application, intimating that Government would attend to the subject, *which was one of*

*great difficulty**.—What the difficulty was is not stated. It was probably found not an easy matter officially to answer the application of parties who seemed, in their assertions, to take so little pains to be consistent. It could not reasonably be expected, that the prayer of a memorial would readily be acceded to, which applied for a convoy to be granted by the Admiralty "to protect the property of the "memorialists against any attempts on the part of "the armed vessels of the Hudson's Bay Company," without its being previously shewn (which does not appear to have been attempted), that that Company either had the intention, or the power, to molest them. Besides, a petition of "persons interested in the North-West Company of fur traders of "Canada," stating, among other misfortunes, that they had been obliged to conduct their trade through that country, Canada, for a long course of years, to great disadvantage, certainly could not appear very intelligible. "Your memorialists," say they, "have "hitherto respected the supposed rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, by not opening through the "territories which they claim as their property under "their Charter, the more direct, and expeditious "communication from Lake Winipic to Hudson's "Bay, but have been contented, for a long series "of years, to conduct their trade through the pro-"vince of Canada to their serious inconvenience and "disadvantage; the route from Lake Winipic to "Montreal exceeding in distance 2500 miles, and

* See "Narrative," page 129.

" requiring a period of 80 days to effect it, that to " Hudson's Bay being only 500 miles, and affording " in every respect greater facilities." But although, in one part of their memorial, they thus take merit for having hitherto respected these supposed rights; in another, they say they " have ever contended " that these rights are only nominal." Why rights asserted to be *only nominal* should have been thus respected, so that a powerful body of British merchants (whose mercantile returns are stated, in their Memorial, to be four times greater than those of the Hudson's Bay Company) should thereby have been subjected to serious disadvantage for a long course of years, could certainly not appear very obvious. But their forbearance is still more unaccountable, when it is observed that the same parties (in their " Narrative," page 13,) have expressly declared " that they would neither acknowledge the exclusive " right of trade," (a right which appears, even by their own memorial, not to have been claimed or exercised*) " or power of jurisdiction claimed by the " Hudson's Bay Company." And it is also worthy of remark, that, at the very moment when the Company's Agents in England were presenting to his Majesty's Secretary of State a memorial, in which they *denied* the rights of the Hudson's Bay Charter, the Company's Agents in Canada were presenting another to the same Department (through Sir George

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* See their Memorial, (page 57 of Appendix to Narrative) by which it appears that the Canadians have carried on their trade through the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company without obstruction.

Prevost, the Governor of the colony,) in which they *admitted* those rights, requesting the Governor " to " intercede with his Majesty's Government, to use " their influence with the Hudson's Bay Company, " to induce their acceding to the application of their " correspondents in London, for a permission to send " annually (whilst the obstruction to the usual " communication through Canada should continue) " a vessel, for the purpose of carrying in provisions, " and supplies for the North-West Company's trade, " and bring out their returns." It could not, therefore, be a very easy matter for his Majesty's Government distinctly to perceive in the applications thus made on behalf of the persons interested in the North-West Company, what rights they seemed inclined to allow, and what to deny:—rights, some of which they fully *admit* in their " Protest,"—*refuse to acknowledge* in their " Narrative,"—*respect* in one of their " Memorials,"—and, in the other, *to prevent the exercise of them, apply for an Admiralty convoy.*

Nor do they appear to be more distinct with respect to their account of that line of communication, by Hudson's Bay, which they have thus forborne to open, and which (compared to that by Montreal) they describe in their memorial as " affording, in every respect, greater facilities."—For, in their Narrative, (page 18) we find them describing this line of communication as " the route the most " difficult in the country, even for athletic and experienced batteaux men, who have to carry and drag " their boats a considerable part of the distance over " rough and untrodden roads and rugged precipices, " and through dangerous rapids and waterfalls."

Nos. 24, 25, 26, and 27.

These are official letters from the same parties, who presented the preceding memorial, to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and which, (as it would appear from the Narrative, page 128) shared the same fate with that document, a verbal answer only having been given.—If any reply of a more official description was received, the parties have not thought fit to produce it.

No. 28.

"Deposition of D. M'Kenzie."

Mr. M'Kenzie describes himself in his affidavit as being "a retired, or dormant, partner of the North-"West Company." His affidavit is very long, and accompanied by numerous documents which have been given in as forming part of his deposition, the purport of which is shortly as follows.—That he was one of the partners apprehended at Fort William by the Earl of Selkirk; and when the others were sent off (as already narrated*) he requested permission from Lord Selkirk to accompany them, but was refused;—that he was then confined in a dark dungeon, and, while in such confinement, every method was taken by Lord Selkirk, and by those whom he employed, to induce the prisoner to do every thing which they directed, and to yield implicit obedience

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* See Statement, page 65.

to all that might be required of him.—That at length, wearied out by confinement and importunity, and having expressed a wish to do as they advised, provided they released him from his dungeon, he was accordingly removed to another part of the building, but still kept a close prisoner under a guard; that he at length yielded implicit obedience to what was required of him, being frequently kept in a state of intoxication, and for six weeks wrote whatever was dictated; papers being brought for him to sign, and deeds to execute.—That, in consequence of having thus yielded implicit obedience to the orders and commands of the Earl of Selkirk, he was discharged from his imprisonment; upon which he immediately went to the nearest Notary Public, and signed a Protest against all that had been done with respect to him, and against every thing which he had been so prevailed upon, or compelled, to execute.

Without being put in possession of Lord Selkirk's account of the transactions which may have taken place between himself and Mr. M'Kenzie; and until his Lordship has an opportunity of answering those heavy charges thus exhibited against him, the reader will probably not be disposed to put much reliance upon the accusations contained in Mr. M'Kenzie's deposition.—Better information than what appears to be conveyed by his affidavit, must be looked for, before credit is to be given to assertions which bear with them so little the appearance of credibility. This deposition, it should be observed, contains a very long and minute detail of the tyrannical and

disgraceful means alleged to have been taken to influence the deponent.—In his affidavit he details, in great order, the proceedings instigated by Lord Selkirk, Captain D'Orsonnens, Mr. Miles Macdonell, Dr. Allan, and others, in order to prevail upon him to submit himself entirely to their directions.—He states, with great precision, the purport, and, in several cases, the very words, of conversations asserted to have occurred for the purpose of seducing him;—in short, he produces a circumstantial and detailed Report of every thing that happened;—and *to the truth of all this he swears*, having already solemnly declared, in a protest before a Notary Public, (which protest is attached to his affidavit,) that during the whole period in which the transactions in question, took place, he, the Deponent, was drunk and deranged!—namely; "from the 13th of August "to the 11th of October, 1816; during all which "time," says this dormant partner, "I was in a "state of inebriety, and actual derangement of "mind."—The reader, therefore, will doubtless require some more substantial proof of the serious accusations which are thus made by the North-West Company against Lord Selkirk, and the gentlemen who accompanied him into the interior of North America, than the assertions of a deponent, who has put upon record, that he was in a state of intoxication during all the time in which those facts and circumstances occurred, to the truth of which he has solemnly sworn.

The reader will also naturally inquire why Mr. D. M'Kenzie, who is stated to have made his pro-

test before a Notary Public at Drummond's Island, on the 11th of November, did not make his affidavit till three weeks afterwards; *viz.* the 2nd of December. —It cannot be said that he could not find an acting magistrate to take his deposition at that place, because the name of one appears affixed as witness to the protest itself. The Representatives of the North-West Company, of course, wish it to be believed that Mr. M'Kenzie shewed a laudable anxiety to protest before a Notary Public, as soon as an opportunity offered for that purpose.—But if he was right in losing no time in making his Protest, he must have been wrong in unnecessarily delaying his Deposition. —The fact will probably turn out to be this,—that Mr. M'Kenzie neither intended to make the one nor the other.

The Narrative proceeds by stating, that, "after complying with these terms, "he," (M'Kenzie,) "was immediately released; and as far as he could "make atonement for his conduct to his partners, "before he could have any communication with "them he appears to have attempted it by the pro-"test," &c.—It does not seem, however, that this repentant partner was, after his release, in so very great a hurry to atone for his sins, and obtain absolution, as those concerned for the North-West Company wish it to be believed.—In this part of their Narrative, indeed, it is evident that they are anxious to be very guarded in their assertions:— "As far as he could make atonement," say they; "for his conduct to his partners, before any commu-"nication with them, he appears to have attempted

"it by the protest," &c.—He *appears to have attempted.*—But, among all the "ample materials" furnished by their constituents, have the representatives received nothing by which *it also appears* that this part of their Narrative cannot be true; and that Mr. M'Kenzie *had* communication with his partners before he made his protest? Has no document reached them with the information that Mr. M'Kenzie had determined to become an evidence for the Crown in support of the criminal charges brought against several of the partners who had been apprehended?—that, with such intention, he had proceeded on his way to Montreal, and had passed the Sault St. Mary, St. Joseph's, and Drummond's Island, without applying either to Magistrate, or Notary Public, for the purpose of making protest or affidavit?—that afterwards, in his route to Lower Canada, he was met, upon the 5th or 6th of November, on the shore of Lake Huron, by one of his partners who had been apprehended, but admitted to bail, and who carried him back a prisoner, (as he stated to M. Pritchard, who was with him) to Drummond's Island?—and that, subsequent to this communication with his partner, namely, on the 11th of November, and not till then, was the protest made, which is now exhibited, and which, after an interval of three weeks preparation, was followed by that deposition which is thus produced to the public in the Appendix to their Narrative?—The public, however, will doubtless postpone its judgment upon these matters until an opportunity of obtaining further information be afforded: And with respect to those transactions

which may have occurred between the Earl of Selkirk and Mr. M'Kenzie (as a partner of the North-West Company) in as far as relates to the transfer, by the latter to the former, of a portion of the Company's property, whatever may be the result of such conveyance, if contested in a court of law, it is evident that Lord Selkirk considered it as legal and unobjectionable, otherwise there never could have appeared in the deed or agreement an express clause, by which arbitrators were to be nominated in England by the Lords Chief Justices of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas.—Nor can it be credited, that if Lord Selkirk had considered the purchase alluded to in the Narrative to be illegal, or liable to any objection, he would ever have permitted those fragments of original papers, rough draughts of clauses, provisions, &c. (which passed between the parties in preparing the conveyance) to have remained in the possession, as is stated, of Mr. M'Kenzie, the person whom, according to the assertion of the Representatives of the North-West Company, his Lordship was so shamefully deceiving; and which documents they so triumphantly produce, as incontestable proof of his guilt.

[No. 29.]

"Deposition of Robert M'Robb."

THIS is the second deposition (in the Appendix to the Narrative) of Mr. Robert M'Robb, who seems to be a very useful clerk of the North-West Company,

His hand-writing appears every where throughout the Book of account formerly alluded to, in which those bribes, and prices of stolen goods, were registered, which were paid to the settlers who had deserted, and pillaged the Red River Settlement.—In most of these cases Mr. M'Robb was the channel by which the payments were made, and the accounts balanced.

His deposition does not contain any thing of much importance. *He* also gives little fragments of conversations which are stated to have occurred, inserting as usual, in Italics, the precise words which are declared to have passed, with a prudent salvo subjoined to them of "or somewhat to that, or the like "effect."—The principal object, however, of the deposition, is to inform the reader that a warrant had been issued by D. Mitchell, Esq. a justice of the peace in Upper Canada, to arrest Lord Selkirk on a charge of felony; and that the deponent proceeded with "one "Robinson, who was, as the deponent understood, a "constable, or public officer of some such descrip-"tion," to carry the warrant into execution; but it would appear that his Lordship, so far from being disposed to yield submission to the Writ, was more inclined to arrest the Constable,—"or somewhat to "that or the like effect."

Had Mr. Robert M'Robb been pleased to have been a little more communicative in his Deposition, he might have added, that after the North-West Company's partners, whom Lord Selkirk had apprehended, had been admitted to bail at Montreal, several of them immediately returned to Upper Canada;

traversing that Province to and fro for the purpose of discovering, if possible, a magistrate who would grant a criminal warrant against the Earl of Selkirk, and against several of the gentlemen who were with him, on a charge of robbery:—that they applied separately to the Judges of Upper Canada, who, seeing no grounds for the charge, refused the warrant:—that they at length, however, found a magistrate, who, though not generally acting in that capacity, they conceived might serve their purpose, and prove of a more accommodating character than the Judges of the Province:—and that Mr. D. Mitchell accordingly issued this warrant, which appears, by Mr. M'Robb's affidavit, to have been treated with so little ceremony. The reason of its being so treated is stated pretty plainly in a letter from Lord Selkirk to Mr. Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada; of which the following is an extract:

" *Fort William, November* 12, 1816.

" SIR,

" A few days ago a canoe arrived " here bringing two clerks of the North-West " Company, accompanied by a man who gave him- " self out as being a constable charged with the " arrest of several gentlemen here, and myself among " the rest. On examining his warrant, I observed " it to be, in several respects, irregular, and founded " on the recital of an affidavit full of the grossest " perjuries.—It was signed by Dr. Mitchell, of " Drummond's Island, whose notorious habits of " intemperance render it in the highest degree pro-

" bable, that his signature had been obtained sur-
" reptitiously. The constable, when asked whether
" he had any letters or credentials of any kind,
" could produce none, which confirmed the idea of
" his being an impostor."—It is therefore not much to be wondered at that his Lordship should state, in continuation, to Governor Gore, that, " Under these
" circumstances, I trust it will not be ascribed to
" any disposition to resist the regular execution of
" the law, if the gentlemen concerned did not think
" fit to go five hundred miles across such waters as
" Lake Superior at this season of the year, in com-
" pliance with a form of a process, which there
" was every reason to believe irregular and surrep-
" titious."

Having thus taken a cursory view of those materials which the Representatives of the North-West Company have introduced into the Appendix of their Narrative, and which, in their preface, they have declared, " will be found to contain positive proof of " almost every fact asserted in the text," a few observations shall now be submitted, with respect to the Narrative itself.

In perusing their Work, it appears very evident how conscious they are that the unremitting aggression instigated against the Red River Colony, cannot fail to be ascribed to that body which they represent.

For the term *aggression*, however, they wish to substitute that of *retaliation*. As an excuse for the acts which occurred, great pains are taken to convince their readers that these acts were entirely owing to the conduct of Lord Selkirk and his agents. According to their account, the cause of the fatal occurrences which took place is to be found in the *felonious conduct* of Mr. Miles Macdonell, who, as appears by the opinion of their own legal advisers, could *not be properly convicted on a charge of felony*. In their letter, indeed, to the Secretary of State, of 1st February, 1816, they do not venture to allege more against Mr. Miles Macdonell, than that he "acted under a misapprehension of authority;" adding, that "no sufficient proof could be adduced "of a felonious intent."—The transactions in which that gentleman was concerned have been already, and fairly, narrated*; but, even had his acts been such as the North-West Company wish to represent them; yet, in no shape, and with no semblance of justice, could they afford an excuse for the measures adopted with regard to the settlers, by the partners of that Company. Their Representatives, however, endeavour to skreen and to exculpate indiscriminately every one of these partners. Even Mr. Duncan Cameron, and Mr. Alexander M'Donell, are defended, by them! The former they describe as "a "man of determined resolution, but, unfortunately, "of an irritable temper†."—Unfortunately of an

* See page 26 of Statement, and also Appendix, [B.]
† See Narrative, page 32.

irritable temper!—A man who deliberately sat down for ten months in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony, for the sole purpose of corrupting the Settlers, and seducing the contracted servants of the Establishment!* and who, by a cool and systematic perseverance in meanness, falsehood, threats, and bribery, and afterwards by violent and repeated attacks with fire-arms, succeeded in ruining a settlement of his fellow-subjects, who had never given the slightest ground for his malevolence! And yet must these Representatives justify this Constituent! —"Mr. Cameron is accused," say they, "of having "made use of all the influence he possessed with his

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* It was mentioned in the Statement (page 13, &c.) that Mr. D. Cameron, Alexander M'Donell, and others of the North-West Company, in order to exert undue influence over the settlers, had pretended that they held King's commissions, and were vested with authority and command in the interior. This imposture is now admitted by the North-West Company, who, in a note to the Postscript of their Narrative, (page 134), say, "Mr. Cameron was appointed, by a commission from Sir George "Prevost, to the rank of Captain, 'in the Indian and conquered "'countries, during the war;' but he certainly had no greater "right to assume that rank in the Red River, than the officers "of Governor Macdonell's appointment,"—who *did not assume any such rank whatsoever*. These delusive pretensions, however, to authority and importance, are probably all, ere now, dissipated by the following Order of Sir John Sherbrooke:—

"GENERAL ORDER.

"*Head Quarters, Quebec, 17th August*, 1816.

"His Excellency the Governor in Chief and Commander of "the Forces, is pleased to cancel and annul the Militia and Pro-"vincial Rank, in the Indian and conquered countries, conferred

" countrymen, to persuade them to desert the colony. " *If this be the fact*, whatever may have been *his* " motives, every *humane* person will rejoice that his " influence was successful." The true meaning of which is this, that We, who represent the interests of the Canadian Fur Traders, pronounce the colonists at Red River to be very unhappy.—It would be kind,

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" by General or Garrison Orders, or by commissions, on the " under-mentioned persons, as well as all others holding rank " under the same authority."

Lt. Col. W. M'Kay,
W. M'Gillivray,
Major A. Norman M'Leod,
Toussaint Pothier,
Alex. M'Kenzie,
P. De Rochblave,
Captain James Hughes,
Captain Kenneth M'Kenzie,
Duncan Cameron,
John M'Gillivray,
Lieut. John M'Donald,
Alex. M'Donell,
Ensign Seraphim La Mar.

(Signed) J. HARVEY, Lieut.-Col. D. A. G."

By a deposition, recently taken at Montreal, of Blondeau, one of the servants of the North-West Company, it appears, that when Mr. D. Cameron and Mr. Alexander M'Donell were setting out from Fort William, in the summer of 1814, to " commence open hostilities against the enemy in Red River," the *Engagés, Bois-Brulés*, &c. were assembled by Mr. Norman M'Leod, the magistrate, and several other of the partners, and an oath was administered to them. By this oath they bound themselves *to be faithful to the King, and obey the orders of Mr. Duncan Cameron*, who was to command them, as they were told they were to go to war. Blondeau refused to take the oath, in consequence of which, after being struck by Mr. Norman M'Leod, he was deprived of his situation as guide into the interior, and was detained two years at Fort William, away from his family.

therefore, to put an end to their misery.—Let us zealously join in this good work. We may begin with the *fair* means, (alluded to by our partner Mr. Alexander M'Donell;) but if these do not succeed, let us try the *foul*. The *end* being praiseworthy, we need not scruple as to the *means*: and in this our holy crusade against the colony, we may resort to the hatchet of the Grandes Oreilles, to complete that which the humanity of Mr. Cameron may fail to accomplish.—This is all quite consistent with what (in the preface to our Narrative) we have stated of our own "zeal and exertions to promote the true "interests of philanthropy and humanity!"*

Mr. Alexander M'Donell too, is held up in the Narrative, as shewing humanity and consideration towards the settlers! When he was preparing at the Portage des Prairies, two days before Governor Semple and his people were killed, to let loose Cuthbert Grant and his blood-hounds against the settlement, the Narrative asserts, that "they," (Grant's party,) "received express orders, and were "strictly enjoined to pass at a distance behind Fort "Douglas, Semple's station, and the colony, to "molest no person, and, if possible, to avoid all "observation."†—And yet, when the messenger returns from Cuthbert Grant, and reports to M'Donell that a number of those colonists, whom he had so strictly enjoined not to be molested, were killed;—on receiving the intelligence, he exclaims, in a burst

* See Preface to Narrative, page vii.
† See page 51 of Narrative.

of philanthropy, "*Sacré nom de Dieu! Bonnes* "*nouvelles! Vingt-deux Anglois de tués!*"* In the Postscript to their Narrative, the advocates for the North-West Company declare that it is perfectly impossible to believe that these expressions of joy could have been thus made use of.—But, with respect to some of their clients, and those of them whom they thus seem most anxious to defend, there is nothing which it is impossible to believe.—The same person (M'Donell) had shortly before declared to the Indian Chief in council, that "if the colonists "resisted, the ground should be drenched with "their blood."† And is it less credible that the expressions of joy above-mentioned were actually uttered, than that a *feu de joye* was fired with the guns at Fort William, when the intelligence was brought to that place the year before, that the colony was then destroyed, the colonists dispersed, and their habitations burnt to the ground? Nor does it appear very obvious why the reader should be expected not to give credit to the joy thus stated to have been felt and expressed by such a man as Mr. Alexander M'Donell—who, on receiving, not many weeks before, the intelligence (false it is earnestly to be hoped) that a party of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants had been starved,—and that, after a number of them had for some time been under the horrible necessity of feeding upon the dead bodies of their comrades, only one survivor had been left to tell the

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* See Statement, page 79.

† See Mr. Pambrun's deposition, Appendix, [V.] p. xxxiv.

tale,—loses no time in communicating by letter to his partner Duncan Cameron, the "Glorious News "from Athabasca!"—*.

In endeavouring to avert from themselves the charge of having unjustly instigated the aggressions against the Red River Colony, the North-West Company attempt, not only to raise a strong impression in the public mind, that Lord Selkirk, or his agents, had committed acts of violence sufficient to justify any retaliation; but they even resort, in their Narrative, to occurrences which took place subsequent to the aggression itself, in the hope of thereby withdrawing the reader's attention from the original charge. In order to create a belief, that their own acts have been, all along, just and honourable with regard to the Settlement, they produce numerous documents to prove, that Lord Selkirk, after its destruction, has conducted himself with gross violence and outrage. Among the acts of this description, with which they charge him, are his taking possession, by military force, (as they state it) of their trading post at Fort William; robbing them of all their property in that place; and extending the same system of rapine and plunder to their other stations in the interior.

The reasons which induced Lord Selkirk to go to Fort William, (which lay entirely out of his intended line of route to the Red River) and his proceedings at that place, with respect to apprehending, and

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* See page 72 of Statement.

sending off the partners, have been already submitted to the reader *; and, on that part of the subject, there is nothing asserted in the "Narrative" which calls for the slightest alteration in the Statement. The documents, indeed, which have been since received, and some of which are subjoined to the Appendix, only tend fully to corroborate and confirm what was so narrated.

In order to verify the account given in their "Nar-"rative" of the proceedings at Fort William, the Representatives of the North-West Company produce, in their Appendix, the depositions (No. 21 and 22) of M'Robb and Cowie, two of their clerks, and also the statement (No. 20) of Lieutenants Brumby and Misani, which was already alluded to. In refutation of the inferences, intended to be drawn from these materials, the reader's attention is particularly requested to the three documents now added to the Appendix, namely, the account given of these proceedings by Mr. Fauche (late Lieutenant in the same regiment with Messrs. Brumby and Misani) and who is now in England; the narrative drawn up and signed by Mr. M'Nabb, who was employed as the principal constable, in executing the warrants at Fort William; and the deposition of Alexander Fraser recently taken at Montreal†.

"Military possession," says the Narrative (page 69), "was then taken of the Fort, as is particularly "described in the deposition of Lieutenants Brumby

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* See page 61, &c. of Statement.

† See Appendix, [K. K.] [L. L.] and [M. M.]

"and Misani, given in the Appendix, No. 20;" and, upon this passage, the Representatives of the Company have subjoined the following note, with respect to which, it is requisite that the reader should be undeceived:—

"Lieutenants Brumby and Misani, whose deposition is "above referred to, are officers of the late Regiment De "Meuron, who obtained leave of absence from General Sir "Gordon Drummond, at the request of the North-West "Company, in order to enable them to visit the Indian Coun- "try. This was partly intended to counteract the impres- "sion which might be made on the Indians by seeing Lord "Selkirk's body guard, and military force; but chiefly in "order to enable these gentlemen to see the real state of the "country, and to give an impartial report of such occur- "rences as they might witness. Their testimony, therefore, "relative to the military outrages committed at Fort William, "is entitled to particular attention as coming from military "men, totally unconnected with either of the parties."

Little did these two unwary Officers suspect, that when Sir Gordon Drummond gave them leave of absence from their regiment, at the request of the North-West Company, "in order," as their Representatives say, "to enable them to see the real state "of the country, and to give an impartial report of "such occurrences as they might witness,"—little did they suspect that the Company were merely making convenient tools of them, to serve their own secret and unwarrantable purposes.

"You will not hesitate," says Mr. Norman M'Leod in his letter directing his partner at the Fond du Lac, to collect the Indians for the purpose of immediately proceeding against

the Red River Settlement*. "You will not hesitate to "explain to the Indians the purpose for which we want "them to meet us; possibly, and most probably, their ap-"pearance may suffice,—but, in any case, they shall be "well and fully recompensed for their trouble. You, who "know the Indian character so well, make use of that "experience to collect as many as you can in a short time, "from fifteen to twenty upwards, to one hundred. You "will explain to the Chief that we have King's Officers, "and a few soldiers along with us, so that there is not the "least doubt of the justice of our cause."

These King's Officers were Lieutenants Brumby and Misani: and how far "the few soldiers along "with us" were employed to promote the "*Justice* "of our cause," the reader will be better enabled to judge, if he peruses the following account of an atrocious murder committed by one of them, under the express directions of a partner of the North-West Company, in the course of this their expedition into the interior.

Charles De Reinhard, a serjeant in the De Meuron Regiment, having received his discharge from Sir Gordon Drummond, was recommended by Lieutenant Misani, the commanding officer of his company, to Mr. W. M'Gillivray and Mr. Norman M'Leod, as a clerk for the North-West Company's service. In that capacity he, together with another serjeant of the name of Heurtre, (who had also obtained his discharge) accompanied Lieutenants Brumby and Misani, with Mr. Norman M'Leod, from Montreal

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* See page 100 of Statement.

into the interior. When they arrived at Lac la Pluie, in their way to the Red River, Lieutenant Misani told Reinhard that Mr. M'Leod wished Heurtre and him to put on their regimentals (which they had been requested to bring with them from Montreal) in order to appear at a council of Indians, where Lieutenants Brumby and Misani were introduced as captains, and Serjeants Reinhard and Heurtre as persons in the King's service.—In the speech made to the Indians at this council, Mr. M'Leod directed the interpreter to say that government had sent these officers for the sake of Justice*. The party afterwards proceeded, with some of these Lac la Pluie Indians, to the Red River, where they met the colonists a few days after those transactions at the settlement had occurred, which have been already narrated.

Having remained a very short time at the Red River, Lieutenants Misani and Brumby, with Mr. Hughes, one of the Company's partners, returned to Fort William, to report to Mr. W. M'Gillivray the occurrences which had taken place.—Reinhard, however, was sent, as one of the North-West Company's clerks, to Bas de la Rivière Winipic, a station belonging to the Company, where he was directed by Mr. Archibald M'Lellan, the partner who had charge of it, to put the fort, or trading-post, at that place, into a state of defence.

About the beginning of August there arrived, at

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* See also the deposition of Sayer the Interpreter, Appendix, [E. E.] page lxv.

that post, some servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had deserted from Mr. Owen Keveney, a gentlemen in that Company's service, then on his way, from Albany Factory in Hudson's Bay, to the Red River Settlement.. These deserters complained to Mr. Norman M'Leod, that Mr. Keveney had treated them very ill, upon which the ready magistrate, under the Canada Jurisdiction Act, immediately issued his warrant, and appointed Serjeant Reinhard to act as constable for the purpose of apprehending Mr. Keveney. Reinhard accordingly proceeded with six Bois-Brulés, whom Mr. M'Lellan had directed to accompany him, and having seized Mr. Keveney, they brought him to Bas de la Rivière. From that place he was sent off in a canoe, for the purpose of being taken to Fort William, under the charge of these Bois-Brulés, by whom, during the route, he was bound and handcuffed.

On their way towards Fort William, they were met by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, the North-West Company's partner, who took away the Bois-Brulés, and put, in their place, two Canadians named Faye and La Pointe, together with an Indian, who was to serve as a guide for the purpose of conducting the prisoner to Lac la Pluie. Some days afterwards, however, they met Messrs. Stuart and Thompson, also of the North-West Company, who ordered them to return. They accordingly did so, but could not keep pace with Mr. Stuart's canoe. The two Canadians soon after, quarrelled with the Indian, and they separated.—The Canadians, not knowing their way, landed Mr. Keveney upon a small island where they left him.

A considerable period having subsequently elapsed without any account being received at Bas de la Rivière (by Mr. M'Lellan, the partner at that station), of Mr. Keveney and those who were with him, it was concluded that the Indian had murdered him, or that the two Canadians had lost their way, or that they were all drowned.—At length Mr. M'Lellan, Cuthbert Grant, Cadot, Reinhard, and some Bois-Brulés, set off in a canoe with the intention of going to Lac la Pluie, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence relative to the apprehension of the partners at Fort William, (of which they had then received information), and also to discover what had become of Mr. Keveney.

After travelling about four days they found the Indian, and shortly afterwards the two Canadians, Faye and La Pointe.—These three persons Mr. M'Lellan took with him, and again set out in search of Keveney. They found him in an encampment of Indians, and he was a second time apprehended. Mr. M'Lellan having procured from these Indians a small canoe, he directed Serjeant Reinhard to embark in it with the prisoner, the Indian, and a Bois-Brulé named Mainville. M'Lellan then said to Reinhard, "Make the prisoner believe that he is going to Lac "la Pluie.—He must not be put to death here "among the Indians.—We will go on further, and "wait for you; and when you find a favourable spot, "you know what you have to do."—(*Vous savez ce que vous avez à faire.*)

Mr. M'Lellan having thus issued his secret orders

to Reinhard, set out in his own canoe, leaving on shore Mr. Keveney, Reinhard, the Indian, and Mainville the Bois-Brulé. In less than an hour they embarked to follow him.—Having proceeded about a quarter of a league, Mr. Keveney expressed a wish to be set on shore for a short time; and on his being landed, Reinhard said to Mainville, that, as they were now far enough from the Indians, he might shoot the prisoner. Upon Mr. Keveney's returning to the beach to re-embark, and being close to the canoe, Mainville levelled his piece, and shot him through the neck. Keveney fell forward upon the canoe, when Reinhard seeing he was not dead, and that he wanted to speak, drew his sword, and plunging it twice into his back, run him through the body, and put an end to his misery.

Having stripped the body they left it in the adjoining woods, and proceeded in their canoe to join their master, Mr. M'Lellan, who, seeing them approach, sent Cuthbert Grant and Cadot to inquire if Mr. Keveney was killed. Reinhard answered, that he was. Upon this they directed him to say that he was not killed. Reinhard again told them that he was killed, and that he would not conceal it, as it was done by his (Mr. M'Lellan's) orders.

He then joined M'Lellan and the rest of the party, and detailed to them what had happened. A distribution of the bloody clothes of Keveney, and of his other effects, was then made; and M'Lellan having opened the boxes and writing-desk of the unfortunate man whom he had thus ordered to be murdered, he

spent a great part of the night, in reading and burning the letters and papers which they contained. —Next morning he continued his examination of the remaining papers in his canoe, sinking them after he had perused them:—and, upon finishing this employment, he told the Bois-Brulés that it was very fortunate they had prevented Keveney from getting to Fort William, where he might have ruined them all.

Such are the proceedings which are carried on in the interior of British North America, for the purpose of supporting the "justice of our cause;" and such the Constituents abroad who furnish to their Representatives in England, the raw materials for the subsequent fabrication of their Memorials to His Majesty's Government, and their "faithful Narratives" to the Public!

The circumstances of this infamous story were only vaguely reported at Fort William some weeks after Lord Selkirk arrived at that place;—but he knew enough of the wintering partners of the North-West Company, to be satisfied that the murder, which was thus rumoured, had been actually committed, and at the instigation of at least one of the Company's partners. He, therefore, requested Captain D'Orsonnens (one of the gentlemen who had accompanied him from Montreal in his intended journey to the Red River) to obtain every information he could procure at Lac la Pluie; in consequence of which the two Canadians Faye and La Pointe, who were with Mr. M'Lellan at the time, have given their depositions

upon oath as to the transaction; and Reinhard himself has made a full confession and declaration of the murder. These three documents are subjoined in the Appendix*.

Among the materials inserted in the "Narrative "of Occurrences," for the purpose of throwing odium upon the proceedings of the Earl of Selkirk at Fort William, appears, in a most conspicuous position, the "Journal of Mr. Jasper Vandersluys." —Mr. Vandersluys is a Dutch Book-keeper of the North-West Company; and, if his Books are kept with no greater accuracy than his "Journal," the Company may have again to present a humble memorial to his Majesty's Secretary of State, lamenting that their trade is still conducted "to their serious "inconvenience and disadvantage." As, however, their Representatives, in introducing Mr. Vandersluys to the reader, bespeak his favour by assuring him that he is "a very respectable person;" and as they describe his Journal itself as "a simple and "correct detail of the most extraordinary outrage "which was ever committed against the Laws of a "civilized Country," it may be advisable to look a little into the contents of this Dutchman's diary,—a composition which has been deemed too important to be thrown into the Appendix of their Narrative, but is permitted to occupy upwards of thirty pages of small print in the body of the Work itself.

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* See Appendix, [redacted] [G. G.]

The Journal comprises about the period of a fortnight, from the 12th to the 28th of August, during which time Mr. Vandersluys appears, by his own statement, to have been wofully harrassed and tormented by the Earl of Selkirk. He had been left in charge (as the Narrative states) of the Company's affairs, when the partners who had been apprehended were sent off from Fort William; and great pains are taken, throughout the Journal, to make it be credited that, in the performance of his important duties, he met, from Lord Selkirk, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, with every degree of violence and obstruction. Notwithstanding his hurry and fatigue, however, it would appear (from the Journal at least) that he had leisure enough to sit down coolly and deliberately every day, for the purpose of composing his long story; — carefully noting down, at full length, the events in their regular and daily course, and minuting in his diary all occurrences in due order and arrangement.—The object of this is very evident. Those who represent the North-West Company lay before their readers this Journal as an accurate statement, made at the moment when the events described in it are said to have occurred, and as being narrated by a person who was actually on the spot, and an eye-witness of what took place.—It is therefore expected by them, that the public should look upon it as a document of incontrovertible authenticity. To make it be believed that this "simple and correct detail," as they term it, was actually written at the time, such passages as the following are scattered, with no sparing hand, throughout

the Journal of Mr. Jasper Vandersluys: "Between ten and eleven this morning, the Earl of Selkirk," &c.—"This morning past very quietly," &c.—"This morning Mr. M'Gillivray," &c.—"This morning the captain of the guard," &c.—"We this afternoon addressed the following letter to the Earl," &c.—"At about ten o'clock last night his Lordship," &c.—"Nothing further remarkable occurred this day," &c.—"This day has been a very busy one," &c.—"The Earl's plans cannot now be a secret any longer," &c.—"At length the Earl's projects and views, so long disguised, begin to discover themselves," &c.—"I have just this moment returned," &c.—"While writing this, I receive information," &c. &c. &c.—This is all very well, and the purpose obvious.—But why did this "simple" journalist permit such a passage as the following to creep into his diary?—On the 17th of August, "they seized," says the journal, "some papers of no "value, and sealed them; but I must not omit to "mention, that this bundle contains a *Deposition of* "*one Nolin, clerk to the Hudson's Bay Company,* "*written and signed by himself, in which, amongst* "*other things, he declares, that at the late action* "*at Red River, the colonists, headed by Mr. Sem*-"*ple, were the aggressors and first assailants:*"—How came this "*deposition of one Nolin*" to be so anxiously adverted to? Did Mr. Jasper Vandersluys suspect that there was danger of evidence being collected, which might probably throw light upon the occurrences at Red River? Did he begin to conjecture, with the principal Agent of the Company,

that "the story might be reported in a thousand "ways;—that Mr. Norman M'Leod, and Mr. A. "and Mr. B. of the North-West Company, with "Brulés," &c. &c. had destroyed the colony? and did he hope that this part of his journal might tend to arrest the story in its progress *?—Do the Representatives of the Company also entertain a similar expectation by the question which they put, in the Postscript to their Narrative, on the same subject? "What has become of the *deposition of Nolin,* "*mentioned in Mr. Vandersluys's journal?* And "why has it been *suppressed,* and the present one," (namely, that taken before Lord Selkirk, and which appears in Appendix, [X.]) "substituted in its "place?" The answer to which is, that as none else was received, (than that sworn to before Lord Selkirk,) there neither could be substitution, nor suppression.—It is very obvious, indeed, that the marked allusion, in the Journal, to the "*deposition of one* "*Nolin,*" and the question arising upon it in the Postscript to the Narrative, are intended to weaken or counteract the effect of Nolin's affidavit taken by Lord Selkirk.—But the reader will observe, that this latter deposition was not taken till the 21st of August, four days *after* the date of that part of Vandersluys's Journal, which has been so evidently contrived for the purpose of counteracting it;—or, in other words, that Mr. Vandersluys, on the *seventeenth* of August, attempts to obviate the effect of an affidavit which was not taken till the *twenty-*

* See Statement, page 110.

first of the same month! If Nolin made any other deposition, (of which no proof is adduced except Vandersluys's Journal) it must have been sent off, among the other documents which were transmitted from Fort William, without examination, (after having been sealed up by a person in behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, and another in behalf of the North-West Company) and subsequently delivered to the Attorney General of Lower Canada, into whose custody they were deposited in that state, for the purpose of being made such use of as his official duty might point out*.

Throughout every part, indeed, of the composition of this Journal are to be found marks of fraud.—In grasping at too much, it has obtained nothing. If the separate and daily portions of it be inspected with any degree of attention, they will appear evidently to have been fabricated long subsequent to the periods in which they are respectively dated;—in short, it is obvious that Mr. Vandersluys's log book was not begun till after his voyage was completed.—Can it be believed, for instance, that when Mr. M'Gillivray, the principal Agent of the North-West Company in Canada, and seven of his partners wished to prepare a formal Protest against Lord Selkirk's proceedings at Fort William, they should have re-

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* By Nolin's deposition, in Appendix, [X.] it is evident that he could not, from personal observation, know who were the first assailants in the affair of the 19th of June, as he was not within almost a league of the spot, and had even sent a person to ascertain and report to him what was going on.

sorted to their foreign book-keeper, Mr. Vandersluys, (who, it is well known in Canada, scarcely understands the English language) to draw it up for them! "This "morning Mr. M'Gillivray desired me to draw up a "protest against the acts of violence committed yes-"terday. I had only a quarter of an hour to do it in, "and worded it briefly in the following terms."—This manifesto is accordingly produced, to which the eight partners then at Fort William, have affixed their names.—Of the assertions contained in it, one deserves to be noticed. Those men who had belonged to the De Meuron Regiment, about twenty-five in number, whose assistance was called in by the constable to enforce the arrest of the partners at Fort William, who had resisted the warrants*, are termed "between fifty "and sixty disbanded and intoxicated soldiers." —This assertion is repeated throughout various parts of the Journal. "The Fort was now left in disor-"der, and at the discretion of the intoxicated sol-"diery†." And again "Captain D'Orsonnens, the "leader of these disbanded, intoxicated, and almost

* See page 66 of Statement.

† Neither of the two clerks of the North-West Company who have made the affidavits numbered (in the Appendix to the Narrative) 21 and 22, and whose statements are produced as evidence of the outrages at Fort William, have said, that a single man of the party, that went to that place, was in the slightest degree intoxicated. Nor do Lieutenants Brumby and Misani mention one word of it; and *their* testimony "relative to the "military outrages committed at Fort William, is entitled to "particular attention, as coming from military men totally "unconnected with either party." See "Narrative," page 69.

" uncontrolled soldiers, cried out '*aux armes, aux* " *armes,*' and immediately the bugle was sounded, " and an armed force of about sixty in number with " loaded muskets, and fixed bayonets, rushed forci- " bly into the Fort, shouting, cursing, and swear- " ing, and threatening death and destruction to all " persons and all property. The soldiery were " strongly countenanced in this by their officers, " amongst whom the most conspicuous was the " aforesaid Captain D'Orsonnens, next Captain " Mathey, Lieutenant Fauche, Lieutenant Graffen- " reith, and several more."

With respect to these alleged acts of daily violence, the best contradiction to Mr. Vandersluys, is Mr. Vandersluys himself; for there is nothing which he asserts, however bold, in one part of his diary, but what is overmatched by his own counter-assertions in another. Who could suppose that, after all these horrible alarms which pervade his Journal, of " soldiers who appear to be thirsting for an oppor- " tunity to gratify their wishes for tumult and " bloodshed"—and of " acts which would make a " French *Douanier* blush, and all this authorised, " instigated, and ordered by a man vested with the " dignity of a magistrate,"—that, notwithstanding this, we should find Mr. Vandersluys, on the 28th of August, the day when he left Fort William for Montreal, stating that " I told him " (Lord Selkirk) that no agreement or conven- " tion could be made whilst he laid down as a prin- " ciple the retention of a *pledge*, or *indemnifica-* " *tion*; but that, as I was aware he was in distress

"for many articles, I was willing to consult with "M'Tavish on the subject, and perhaps let him "have a certain quantity of goods, by way of oblig- "ing him," &c.—So, after all, it turns out that Lord Selkirk, in full command at Fort William, "backed by a ferocious band of lawless soldiery, "with arms and artillery"—and, "committing acts "which would make a French Douanier blush," civilly asks the Book-keeper of the North-West Company to accommodate him with those articles in the Fort, for want of which Mr. Vandersluys admits that he knew his Lordship was in distress!—And yet this "very respectable person" does not hesitate to assert, "I cannot help remarking here, that at the time of "the French invasion of my own country," (Holland,) "I witnessed much injustice, and a defiance of "law and morality, with all the evils accruing to a "country over-run by a debauched and ferocious "military horde, yet I saw no injustice so glaring "as what was committed by the Earl of Selkirk and "his agents here!"

But the day on which the feelings of Mr. Vandersluys appear to have been wound up to the highest pitch, was the 18th of August, when his diary assumes more the stamp of the German, than of the Dutch school. When Mr. M'Gillivray, and his partners, in consequence of the warrants of commitment, were that day embarking in their canoes, to proceed from Fort William, and when their Canadian *voyageurs*, Iroquois canoemen, and Bois-Brulés, were collected by curiosity on the beach,—"All our "brave and faithful men," says Mr. Vandersluys,

" who were spectators of their departure, were silent " as the grave! not from awe of Lord Selkirk's over- " whelming power, or his military precautions and " martial law, but from the natural feelings of their " hearts; from the unaltered respect they bore for " their masters, and from the remembrance of their " kindness. Some of these faithful men were not " able to conceal their tears, and I saw, what perhaps " few have ever seen,—I saw *an Indian weep!*"— The name of this Indian is not recorded;—probably one of the Grandes Oreilles family:—" Traders, my " children, when I first heard of the troubles you " were in at this place, my heart became sorry, and " the tears ran down my cheeks!"—But the reader has, without doubt, by this time, seen enough of the " Journal of Mr. Jasper Vandersluys,"—a sort of spurious offspring, which the partners of the North-West Company seem more inclined to lay at the door of their foreign book-keeper, than to father themselves.

On the subject of the reduced soldiers of the De Meuron and Watteville Regiments, who accompanied Lord Selkirk, with the intention of settling upon his lands at the Red River, instead of taking the allotments to which they were entitled in Canada, the Representatives of the North-West Company have not scrupled to suffer the following passage to be published in their Narrative of Occurrences:—

" That he" (Lord Selkirk) " might have means suffi- " cient for his purpose, in addition to about one hundred " and eighty" (about *one hundred and thirty*) " canoemen,

" he engaged about one hundred and fifty" (about *an hundred, viz.* eighty of the De Meuron, and twenty of the Watteville Regiments, which had been reduced), " foreign " soldiers, with two captains and two subalterns of the " Regiment De Meuron, a set of men whose conduct after- " wards sufficiently justified the apprehensions entertained " of them. They had been engaged in different services in " Europe and Asia, and were partly formed by deserters " from Buonaparte's armies in Spain. From that country " they were sent to America, where the regiment was just " disbanded, and were fit instruments for the scenes of pil- " lage and plunder in which they were subsequently en- " gaged*."

The best answer to such malevolent and slanderous aspersions, will be found in the following Garrison Orders, which the Reader will rejoice to have laid before him.

" GARRISON ORDER. " *Malta, 4th May,* 1813.

" Lieutenant-General Oakes cannot suffer the Regiment " De Meuron to quit this Garrison, where they have so " long been stationed under his command, without assuring " them of the satisfaction which their good conduct, and " attention to military discipline, have constantly afforded

* " Narrative," page 62.—See also the statement of Lieutenant Fauche, (Appendix, [K. K.]) by which it appears, " that " in 1809, when the Regiment De Meuron was at Gibraltar, His " Majesty's Government authorised that all the Germans and " Piemontese, whom the conscription had forced to enter Buo- " naparte's armies, from which they escaped as soon as an oppor- " tunity offered, should be enlisted in His Majesty's service; in " consequence of which many came over and received the regu- " lar bounty."—This is termed by the Representatives of the North-West Company, *desertion!*

" him; and which have been equally conspicuous in every " rank. They will embark from hence, as fine and well- " appointed a regiment, as any in His Majesty's service.

" The Lieutenant-General has no doubt but by their " conduct and gallantry, on the desirable service on which " they are about to be employed, they will confirm the " high opinion he has formed of them, and will equally " merit the praise and approbation of the General under " whose orders they will soon be placed, to whom he shall " not fail justly to set forth their merits.

" He begs leave to assure this regiment of his warmest " wishes for their glory and success, and of the sincere " interest he shall ever take in their welfare."

(Signed) P. ANDERSON, D. A. G.

The Regiment De Meuron embarked at Malta for North America, and after the peace, it, and the Watteville Corps, were reduced last year in Canada, upon which occasion Sir John Sherbrooke, the Governor-in-Chief, issued the following Garrison Order, which, as well as that of Sir Hildebrand Oakes, above cited, would do honour to any corps in His Majesty's service.

" Garrison Order. *Quebec, 26th July,* 1816.

" In parting with the Regiments De Meuron and Watte- " ville, both of which corps His Excellency had the good " fortune of having had under his command in other parts " of the world, Sir John Sherbrooke desires Lieutenant- " Colonel De Meuron, and Lieutenant-Colonel May, and the " officers and men of those corps, will accept his congratula- " tions on having, by their excellent conduct in the Canadas, " maintained the reputation which they have deservedly " acquired by their former services.

"His Excellency can have no hesitation in saying, that
"His Majesty's service in these provinces has derived im-
"portant advantages during the late war, from the steadi-
"ness, discipline, and efficiency of these corps.

(Signed) "J. HARVEY, Lt.-Col.
"Deputy-Adjutant-General."

Such are the marks of approbation officially recorded by General officers who had the best means of appreciating the merit of regiments which had been long and honourably employed in His Majesty's service; and which the Agents of the Canadian Fur Traders now wish to hold up to the public as "*fit* "*instruments for scenes of pillage and plunder!*"

These scenes of "pillage and plunder" are, perhaps, what Vandersluys's Journal particularly adverts to, (on the 14th of August, the day after the partners were apprehended) when it states that "Lord "Selkirk and his party were very busy about the "Fort, and carried off about eighty guns belonging "to the North-West Company." And, in the same item of his diary, he adds, that a new warrant had been issued "to seize all arms, under the frivolous "pretext that information had been given that a "quantity of papers had been burnt the night be-"fore, and a number of arms concealed." The pretext, however, does not appear to have been quite so *frivolous* as the Journalist wishes it to be believed. The reader may recollect, that after Lord Selkirk had arrested the partners, on the 13th of August, he permitted them to go back to their apartments in Fort William, having pledged to him their

word of honour, that no further attempt should be made to obstruct the execution of the law, and that all measures of resistance or hostility should cease. It was also stated, that information was brought to him early next morning (the 14th) that the seals had been broken from several of the places which had been sealed the evening before; that many papers had been burnt in the course of the night; that several barrels of gunpowder had been rolled out of the Fort; and that about fifty or sixty stand of fire arms, to all appearance fresh loaded and primed, had been found secreted near the building*. The circumstances, thus mentioned in the Statement, have been since corroborated by documents, some of which are now added to the Appendix:—The reader is particularly requested to turn his attention to the account given by Mr. Fauche, who was at Fort William at the time; and also to the narrative of M'Nabb, and the deposition of Alexander Fraser, both of whom were likewise upon the spot. From these documents it will probably be suspected, and upon no slight grounds, that instead of the "frivolous pre-"text," stated in Vandersluys's Journal, as having been assigned for seizing the arms belonging to the North-West Company, an attempt was actually projected, at that place, to massacre Lord Selkirk and the whole of his party†.

The following passage of the "Narrative," being

* See Statement, page 67.

† See Appendix, [K. K.] [L. L.] [M. M.]

connected with the proceedings of Lord Selkirk at Fort William, deserves to be noticed :—

" This simple and correct detail" (meaning Vandersluys's Journal,) " of the most extraordinary outrage which was " ever committed against the laws of a civilized country, " by a person of the rank of Lord Selkirk, will in itself " create sufficient astonishment; but it is impossible not to " advert to other circumstances connected with it, which " still more aggravate the enormity of the transaction.

" The persons arrested, after being treated with studied " indignity and insult, were embarked as prisoners, under " a guard of foreign soldiers, in their own canoes, manned " with their own servants, but not prepared in the usual " manner for the accommodation of passengers: others, fit " for their conveyance, had been got ready by their clerks, " in which they were not allowed to embark; and those " selected, were so overloaded, as to place the passengers in " imminent danger of their lives. There were above fifty " canoes in the fort, from which a sufficient number might " easily have been appropriated for the *safe* conveyance of " the prisoners, had Lord Selkirk considered their safety of " the most trifling importance. One canoe, in which three " prisoners, Kenneth Mackenzie, Allan Macdonell, and " John M'Laughlin, were embarked, was considerably " under the usual size, and could not carry with safety " more than fifteen persons, with their baggage and provi- " sions; yet entirely disregarding the representations and " remonstrances made of the danger to be apprehended, his " Lordship ordered twenty-one persons to be embarked in " it, and, as had been predicted, in the passage on the lake " the canoe filled, and upset, *in consequence of being so* " *overloaded;* Mr. Mackenzie, and eight other persons, " were drowned, and the survivors narrowly escaped with " their lives*."

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* See " Narrative," page 102.

To the charge thus brought against the Earl of Selkirk (a charge which insinuates no less than a wish, on his part, to sink the whole brigade of canoes, —friends and foes,—constables and prisoners!) they have added a note, which is not unworthy of the passage in the text to which it is subjoined. "How far the "Earl of Selkirk," say they, "is legally responsible "for death thus happening in the prosecution of an "unwarrantable act, and while an innocent man "was under conveyance, by his orders, in a state of "unlawful imprisonment, may perhaps be doubtful; "but it cannot be doubted, that a heavy *moral* re-"sponsibility attaches to his Lordship in this transac-"tion!"—The Representatives of the Company, having composed their *Fable*, they could not do less than follow the good old custom, and add the *Moral*;—but the Reader will probably wish to know the facts of the case, and to hear what some of those survivors, who narrowly escaped with their lives when the accident happened, have said on the subject.

"I, J. Baptiste Chevalier de Lorimier, captain of the "Indian Department, certify, that on the 26th of August, "1816, having arrived at Isle au Parisien, Mr. M'Gil-"livray made the brigade of three canoes set out during a "great storm, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the "party, and of the two guides. When we got about half "way across the passage, Mr. M'Gillivray still persisting "to make for the Cape, I took it upon myself to steer for "Isle aux Erables. The two other canoes then followed "me, in order to gain the bay, but, before we could reach "the shore, our's unfortunately sunk, when several were "drowned.

"I further certify, that upon our getting ashore, and "Mr. M'Gillivray having come to condole with us, I "reproached him with being the sole cause of what had "happened. All the other gentlemen of the party, as also "the canoe-men, then came and shook hands with me, "declaring that I was the means of having saved the rest "of the brigade, and that, if I had not persisted in making "for the land, we must all have perished*."

Mr. Fauche, late of the De Meuron Regiment, whom the Earl of Selkirk had requested to take charge of, and accompany the prisoners to York in Upper Canada, has also detailed the circumstances which occurred with regard to this unfortunate accident. *He* also, it would appear, has been accused of "entirely disregarding the representations and remon-

* Moi, J. Baptiste Chevalier de Lorimier, Capt. Ind. Département, certifie que le 26 d'Août, 1816, étant arrivé à l'Isle au Parisien, Mr. M'Gillivré fit partir, dans une grande tempête, la brigade de trois canôts, malgré moi et malgré les autres messieurs qui étoient de cette brigade, et malgré les deux guides, pour entreprendre une traverse d'une étendue considérable. Je certifie de plus, qu'étant à peu près au milieu de cette malheureuse traverse, Mr. M'Gillivré s'obstinant à se rendre au Cap, je pris sur moi de gagner l'Isle aux Erables, qui se trouve dans le baye; aussitôt les deux autres canôts se mirent à me suivre pour gagner aussi la baye; mais malheureusement le canôt où nous étions engloutit avant d'arriver à terre. Plusieurs d'entre nous se sont sauvés, les autres ont malheureusement péri.

Je certifie encore que, lorsque nous avons été rendus à terre, Mr. M'Gillivré étant venu nous plaindre, je lui reprochai que cet accident n'étoit arrivé que par sa faute. Alors tous les messieurs de la brigade, ainsi que tous les engagés, vinrent me donner la main, disant hautement que j'étois la cause que le reste de la brigade s'étoit sauvé, et que si je n'eusse pas persisté à gagner terre, nous aurions tous péri.

J. B^TE CH^R DE LORIMIER,
Capt. Ind. Départt.

"strances made of the danger to be apprehended," &c.—in short, of being totally indifferent to the safety of a party of which he himself formed one!—Mr. Fauche had the charge, at Fort William, of getting the canoes prepared for their voyage. The three that were chosen for that purpose, were from among those in which the partners of the North-West Company usually travelled.—The crews were regular Indian canoemen in the Company's service. Is it to be believed that Mr. Fauche, Captain De Lorimier, the two skilful Indian guides who were with them, and the experienced old Indian chief, who was to have accompanied Lord Selkirk to the Red River, (and who was one of those who were drowned,) or indeed that any of the party would have embarked on such a voyage, in canoes, unsafe, ill-equipped, or "*overloaded?*"—Prior to the unfortunate accident the party were upwards of a week in their voyage upon Lake Superior, but no apprehensions whatever were entertained as to the "safe "conveyance" of the canoes; and, after the loss of the canoe which upset, several of the persons who escaped were next day distributed in the two remaining ones, which it is absurd to suppose would have been done, had these canoes been already overloaded. There was no necessity for such a distribution, as there were Indians with canoes on the island where the party took shelter, and by whom some of them were forwarded to the Sault St. Mary.—It may also be observed that in the canoe that was lost, there were three of the discharged soldiers of the De Meuron

Regiment, who were to return to the Earl of Selkirk. Two of these, a serjeant and a private, were unfortunately drowned.

Mr. Fauche has also declared that although he had the charge, or command of the canoes, he always consulted Mr. M'Gillivray as to the arrangements of setting out, &c. &c.—This he was induced to do from the great experience which that gentleman possessed in the navigation of the Lakes, and he (Mr. Fauche) positively states that the day the accident occurred, he particularly asked Mr. M'Gillivray if he thought it safe to proceed, from the Isle au Parisien, and that Mr. M'Gillivray advised him to set out*.—Such is the "*enormity of the transaction,*" which has been charged against the Earl of Selkirk by the Representatives of the North-West Company, who, although they gravely express a doubt as to his Lordship being legally indictable for the murder of the unfortunate men who were drowned, yet appear to entertain none at all, as to his *moral* guilt and responsibility!

In concluding the Observations which have been submitted to the Reader with respect to the "Narrative of Occurrences," &c. it may be remarked how closely the advocates for the North-West Company follow the footsteps of their Canadian corres-

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* See Appendix, [K K.]

pondents on the subject of the unfortunate fate of Governor Semple and his associates*. The *Indians* must still be held up to the public as the principal, if not the sole actors in that horrible scene. In every page,—in almost every sentence, of that part of their Narrative, these *Indians* are conspicuously placed before the reader, for the purpose of persuading him that the result, so deeply to be lamented, arose from Indian hostility.—" About fifty Indians and Half-breeds" we find dispatched with an escort of provisions by way of " *an experiment !*"—" The Indians and Half-breeds supposing themselves undiscovered." —" The fact of the Indians having actually passed that establishment."—" The facts, not even denied by the opposite party, that they marched out and followed the Indians."—" The Indians and Half-breeds were all on horseback."—" The Indians rushing in, Mr. Semple, and about twenty of his people, lost their lives."—" The Indians and Half-breeds fortunately did not carry their resentment beyond the persons actually engaged in the affray."—" After this melancholy affair, the colonists complied willingly with the terms prescribed by the Indians," &c. &c. Who were those Indians ? To what tribes did they belong ? Were they Crees, Sautoux, Scioux, Assinaboins, or their own Iroquois from Montreal ? All the persons who were actively engaged on the 19th of June under Cuthbert Grant (the Company's Clerk) must be known, because they

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* See Statement, page 104.

were subsequently remunerated for their services; some at Red River, and some afterwards at Fort William. But how does it happen that their own servant, Firmin Boucher, mentions nothing about *Indians* being present? Boucher is a Canadian, in the regular service of the North-West Company, and who, they now admit, "*happened to be with* "*them,*" although they publicly circulated, and officially communicated to His Majesty's Government, the positive assertion, that not one of their people had been within an hundred miles of the spot*! The evidence of Boucher can scarcely be disputed by the Company; because "These particulars," they say, (meaning the affair of the 19th of June,) "are taken from the testimony of Boucher—who was "carried down to Montreal, and other persons pre-"sent in the affray. It has not been deemed advis-"able, pending the legal proceedings which the case "must give rise to, to publish the evidence of "parties who may be implicated†."—That is to say, the Representatives of the North-West Company will state to the public what particulars they choose, and publish what they think fit:—they will not scruple to tell their own story from Boucher's testimony, or from any other testimony; but they beg leave to decline producing his, or any other evidence, upon which that story is stated to be grounded. With regard to the testimony of Boucher, the advo-

* See Statement, page 108.

† See note in page 53 of "Narrative."

cates for the Company must have either supposed it to be true, or false. If false, the story they have founded upon it cannot be true; and if his evidence be true, why do they not adhere to it? Boucher mentions only *Bois-Brulés* as being actively engaged on the 19th of June, stating the party in all to be about sixty-four; but the Narrative rates them at a much lower number, and takes much pains to impress upon the mind of the Reader that the party was composed chiefly, if not solely, of *Indians*.—In order to enable the Reader to judge of this boasted testimony of Boucher, his Declaration (certainly not a very distinct document) is inserted in the Appendix*.

It does not appear necessary to make any further Observations upon this "faithful Narrative of Occurrences."—If the Documents which have been now submitted to the Reader, have excited his attention, he will have little hesitation in pronouncing that the Agents or Representatives of the North-West Company of Montreal have not only failed in their attempt to wipe off the stain which attached to their Constituents, but have fixed it more indelibly by the materials brought forward to defend them, and by the admissions apparent in that defence. "The "attempt at Colonization," say they, towards the conclusion of their Narrative, "was in its origin, "objectionable in every respect to the Fur Traders,

* See Appendix, [N. N.]

"and they do not deny, that (except in the protec-
"tion and assistance they considered it their duty
"to afford, to their suffering countrymen,) after
"having ascertained the real object which the
"plans of Lord Selkirk were intended to cover,
"they have done all in their power to render these
"schemes abortive."—They *have* done all in their power to render these schemes abortive;—to frustrate that plan of colonization in British North America which they avow to have been, from the first, so objectionable to them.—*By what means* they have hitherto rendered that plan abortive, it will be the province of his Majesty's Government, incontrovertibly, and beyond the shadow of a doubt, to ascertain.

When Sir Gordon Drummond, in the year 1815, informed the principal Agent of the North-West Company, that he had received a communication from high authority, desiring him to inquire what foundation there was for the alarm entertained by the Earl of Selkirk, and by the Hudson's Bay Company, for the safety of their settlers, he distinctly stated, that if the apprehended destruction of the colonists by the neighbouring Indians took place, it could not fail to be ascribed to the North-West Company. "The North-West Company will be
"considered responsible in the eye of the world, as
"well as in those of his Majesty's Government,
"for any such horrid catastrophe as I have alluded
"to, whether arising from the instigations of
"their subordinate agents, or from the influenced

"malignity of the Indians themselves*."—The Indians, however, are fully and honourably acquitted of every charge either of actual aggression, or of hostile views, against the Settlement; and, in the eye of the world, the North-West Company, and they alone, will be considered responsible for the catastrophe, unless they produce far more satisfactory proofs of their innocence than those documents which they have recently submitted to the Public. Nor can the hackneyed plea of *character* do away a positive charge of *facts*: "They refer, without fear "of disappointment," say they, "to the various "governors who have been appointed since the con-"quest of Canada, to that province, for an account "of their conduct as loyal and useful members of its "community."—But who, of the Governors of Canada, have had an opportunity of witnessing the conduct of the North-West Company's partners, agents, and servants, in the interior,—thousands of miles from the seat of the Provincial Governments? Or, who was likely to inform them of the lawless proceedings in those remote countries? Many of the Company's partners, and others connected with that association, must themselves have been kept in ignorance of the system which prevails towards the north and west of Lake Superior; and is it to be supposed that those of the partnership who were well acquainted with that system, and who participated in

* See the letter from the Deputy Adjutant-General to Mr. M'Gillivray, of 14th June, 1815, page 57 of Statement.

its vices, would furnish the Provincial Government with the information? On the contrary, it is evident that every mode has been adopted to withhold the knowledge of what was going on in that quarter; and if the Governors of Canada have entertained a better opinion of the North-West Company than they deserved, it can in justice be only ascribed to the artful and powerful means adopted by the Company to conceal the truth with respect to their proceedings in the interior, and particularly on the subject of that conspiracy, which was entered into against the Red River Settlement.

It is not unworthy of remark, however, that the very same persons who declare the attempt at colonization on the Red River to have been in every respect objectionable to them, appear by no means averse to take merit to themselves for establishing colonies elsewhere. When set on foot by Canadian Fur Traders, Colonization is honourable and praiseworthy—but, when planned and conducted by the Earl of Selkirk, it is mean and criminal! The North-West Company, we are told "have with a "spirit of liberality and expense, in many instances "unrequited by the result of their undertakings, "explored the whole Continent of North America, "and ascertained the geographical situation of "almost every river and district of those immense "regions. They have recently established a considerable and thriving colony on the banks of the "Columbia, on the Pacific Ocean, in direct communication with their Settlements in Canada,

" and are now extending their inland trade south-" ward to the Spanish settlements of California, " and northward to those of the Russians at New " Archangel."—It would perhaps puzzle even *their own Geographer* to name the degree of latitude and longitude where this " considerable and thriving " colony" is to be found—to specify from whom the lands were granted upon which it is established—or to state from whence the settlers have dropped who compose it. But if the North-West Company have really established such a Settlement in any part of British North America, it would surely have been not inconsistent with their boasted humanity to have offered to the dispersed settlers from the Red River an asylum in this their new and flourishing colony, and ensured to them that " protection and " assistance they considered it their duty to afford " to their suffering countrymen," instead of driving them away with insult and barbarity to a desolate and inhospitable region.

Whether or not that prophetic declaration which they utter in their Narrative will be verified, remains to be ascertained.—" Thus," say they, " was this " devoted colony, for the last time, dispersed: " and although its dissolution was sooner or later " inevitable from different causes to that which " now determined its fate, it could not have been " expected that it would be precipitated by so " much rashness*." What those other causes of

* See Narrative, page 55.

its inevitable dissolution might have been, it is now immaterial to inquire, as they were not allowed to operate. Had the Colony, (as was observed in the Statement) been at all likely to fail from local circumstances, or causes inherent in its nature, the North-West Company would never have set on foot expensive and hazardous measures to destroy it;—and the very last persons who ought to be listened to on the subject of the improbability of its ultimate success, are they who not only confess that, from the first, the Settlement was in every respect objectionable to them, but who have so substantially proved their hostility by reiterated endeavours to effect its destruction.

To consider what measures should be adopted for the purpose of extending the protection of the law to those British subjects whom the circumstances of the mother country are compelling to emigrate to various parts of our North American possessions, is surely an object worthy of the earnest attention of the Legislature. For, however unimportant in a public view, may be the jarring claims or disputes of rival commercial establishments, there has arisen from the transactions at Red River an object of far superior, and unquestionable importance—the necessity of putting a speedy and effectual stop to those acts of violence and outrage, of robbery and murder, which, if persisted in, cannot fail to bring a stigma upon the British character, and are a disgrace to any part, howsoever remote, of the

British Empire. In so important a subject of consideration, the first step ought to be a careful revisal of the "Canada Jurisdiction Act." If, as asserted in the "Narrative," that legislative measure was introduced at the suggestion, and passed at the earnest entreaty, of those who were employed as Agents for the North-West Company*, that circumstance alone, at the present period, and after the occurrences which have taken place at the Red River, ought to be considered no slight ground for a revisal of the Statute. Many of those disgraceful occurrences took place under the eye of one of the Company's principal Agents and Partners, acting at the moment as a Magistrate for the Indian Territory under the sanction of that Law. But in place of assisting British subjects who stood in so much need of his protection, he only added insult and injustice to the miseries they had already experienced. He appears to have been too expert an Agent, not to look upon the Canada Jurisdiction Act as merely an instrument to be used for the purposes of the Company who employed him. Instead, therefore, of obtaining the correct information it was his duty to procure, and taking proper measures to bring the guilty to justice, he only used his authority to imprison and put in irons, several of the settlers who had escaped from the massacre, and remunerated the Company's clerks, servants, and hirelings, who

* See Preface to Narrative, page vii. and Appendix to Narrative, No. 24, page 60.

had been actively employed in driving off the colonists, and shedding the blood of their fellow subjects. These circumstances, alone, appear to form a sufficient reason that the Legislature should revise the Statute alluded to,—that ill-judged statute, under the sanction of which, wintering and acting partners of the Canadian Fur Traders, with their roving Commissions of the Peace, their warrants, subpœnas, and hand-cuffs, tyrannize, without restraint, in the interior of North America, over every one who offends them;—detain their victims for years under their control;—or, when more convenient, put them to death, as in the case of Mr. Keveney. If an inquiry into these subjects were to be instituted under the sanction of Parliament, it could not fail to prove of great national importance. But, in the investigation, the Legislature must expect to meet with no slight degree of obstruction. Those who have reigned for so long a period in the distant regions of the interior of British North America, uncontrolled by any legal restraints, whose dominion has proved a scourge to the Indians, and a terror to their own immediate Canadian dependents, are not likely to permit the truth to be exposed to the British nation, through its representatives in Parliament, without making every possible exertion to prevent it. The anticipation of these difficulties, however, instead of preventing, or delaying the investigation, ought to expedite inquiry, and render it the more rigid when once undertaken:—and the

result will too clearly shew that, after the experience of nearly fourteen years, the Canada Jurisdiction Act has in no wise promoted the views of the Legislature; and that, in place of forwarding the ends of justice by the punishment of offenders, and the prevention of crimes, it has, in its fatal operation, only furnished the means to sanction injustice, and to legalize oppression.

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APPENDIX.

[A.]

THE CHARTER* OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY having been laid before Counsel, the following Opinions were given upon several of the Points submitted to them.

WE are of opinion, that the grant of the soil contained in the Charter is good; and that it will include all the country, the waters of which run into Hudson's Bay, as ascertained by geographical observations.

We are of opinion, that an individual holding from the Hudson's Bay Company a lease, or grant in fee-simple, of any portion of their territory, will be entitled to all the ordinary rights of landed property as in England, and will be entitled to prevent other persons from occupying any part of the lands, from cutting down timber, and fishing in the adjoining waters, (being such as a private right of fishing may subsist in), and may (if he can peaceably, or otherwise by due course of law) dispossess them of any buildings which they have recently erected within the limits of his property.

We are of opinion, that the grant of the civil and criminal jurisdiction is valid, but it is not granted to the Company, but to the Governor and Council at their respective establishments; but we cannot recommend it to be exercised so as to affect the lives or limbs of criminals.—It is to be exercised by the Governor and Council as judges, who are to proceed according to the laws of England.

The Company may appoint a sheriff to execute judgments, and to do his duty as in England.

We are of opinion, that the sheriff, in case of resistance to his authority, may call out the population to his assistance, and may put arms into the hands of their servants, for defence against attack, and to assist in enforcing the judgments of the Court; but such powers cannot be exercised with too much circumspection.

We are of opinion, that all persons will be subject to the

* Granted by King Charles II. An. 1670.

jurisdiction of the Court, who reside, or are found within the territories over which it extends.

We do not think this Act (43rd Geo. III. c. 138*) gives jurisdiction within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, the same being within the jurisdiction of their own Governors and Council.

We are of opinion, that the Governor (in Hudson's Bay) might, under the authority of the Company, appoint constables and other officers for the preservation of the peace, and that the officers so appointed would have the same duties and privileges as similar officers in England, so far as these duties and privileges may be applicable to their situation in the territories of the Company.

(Signed) SAMUEL ROMILLY,
G. S. HOLROYD,
Wm. CRUISE,
J. SCARLETT,
JOHN BELL.

[B.]

Transaction relative to a Seizure of Provisions by Mr. Miles Macdonell.

Mr. Miles Macdonell, who was Governor of the district of Ossiniboia, in right of the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter, and had charge of the Red River Settlement, expected a considerable addition of new settlers in the Autumn of 1814, and being apprehensive that a scarcity of provisions might be felt, if early measures were not taken to obtain a sufficient quantity, he (in the month of January of that year) gave notice to the traders both of the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies, that, at the opening of the navigation, no more would be allowed to be carried out of the district, than what might be requisite for the consumption of those traders; it being, as he thought, an indispensable duty in him to provide for the resident inhabitants of the district. The traders of both Companies, who had collected provisions from the Indians (from whom they are generally procured), were to be paid a fair price for such as he retained. The Hudson's Bay traders accordingly delivered up their surplus quantity; but those of the North-West Company refused, and attempted to carry out of the district all which they had collected. Upon this, Mr. Miles Macdonell issued a

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* Commonly called the Canada Jurisdiction Act.

warrant, under which a seizure of provisions was made by Mr. Spencer, the sheriff. This proceeding gave rise to considerable discussions between Mr. Miles Macdonell and Mr. Duncan Cameron, and others of the North-West Company; and upon their representing that their trade would suffer in other parts of the country, if deprived of these provisions, an agreement was entered into, the purport of which was, that the North-West Company should retain the quantity requisite for their trade at that time, and should supply Mr. Miles Macdonell with an equal quantity in the winter, if it should be wanted, for the use of the resident settlers. This agreement was not sanctioned by the subsequent general meeting of the North-West partners, who refused to confirm the acts of their agents. An information was laid before Mr. Norman M'Leod, one of their partners, and a magistrate for the Indian territory, who granted a warrant to apprehend Mr. Miles Macdonell on a criminal charge of burglary and robbery.

Mr. Macdonell (though he did not admit that he was amenable to the jurisdiction under which the warrant was issued) surrendered himself, (for the reasons stated in page 26,) and was carried down to Montreal, where it does not appear that any trial has taken place. Mr. Spencer, the sheriff, had previously been apprehended under a similar warrant, and carried away from the Red River settlement in the beginning of September 1814, and detained in the custody of the North-West Company till the month of August in the following year, when that Company thought fit, at length, to bring him down to Montreal; but his trial has not yet taken place.

[C.]

LETTERS FROM D. CAMERON TO THE SETTLERS AT RED RIVER.

To Messrs. Donald Livingston, and Hector M'Eachern, per Bostonois Pangman.

Sirs, *Gibraltar, 10th February,* 1815.

Your letter of the 28th ultimo, by Jordan, came safe to hands, and I am very glad that the eyes of some of you are getting open at last to the situation you are

placed in, in this barbarous country, and that you now see your past follies in obeying the unlawful orders of a plunderer, and, I may say, of a highway robber, for what took place here last spring can be called nothing else but manifest robbery.—But I am very willing to forgive as many as repent of the poor deluded men, as I know that they are not bad men in principles, although made so by bad leaders and bad advice. You say very true, when you mention that you did not know your friends from your foes; the greatest enemies ever you had, is Lord Selkirk, Doctor Auld, and Miles M'Donell, who was made a fool of by them, and he made fools of all those that were under him I know all the bad usage you got, and the many injustices that were done to every one of you since you left your own country, the like I never heard before, and none but hard-hearted bad men would use their fellow-creatures in such a manner. In pity to your present deplorable situations, as I consider you to be in the very worst of prisons here, I accept your offers, and will be very happy to take so many of my countrymen and fellow-subjects out of bondage, as I know very well that Lord Selkirk will never take any of you home, whatever promises Miles M'Donell may make you to the contrary.—You have already been often deceived by both of them, and they will deceive you again and again, if they can, without being ashamed of it, as deception is their very best trade, therefore I'll be proud of being your deliverer; I do not ask you a penny for your passage or provisions to go out with; you are going to a good country, where you may make a decent living for yourselves and families; we'll oblige ourselves to get lands for those that chooses to take them, and will throw none of you on the highway as beggars till you can provide for yourselves. I have no interest whatever in making you these promises, but what humanity points out to me.—With regard to your wages, I can say very little on that subject without seeing how your agreements are made out, but it is not an easy matter to make any one lose his salary, which is not like another debt. If you can only get a copy of your accounts, and get them signed by Miles M'Donell, we'll do our best to recover the money for you; but if you could get drafts on the Hudson's Bay Company for the balance of your wages, I would myself be answerable to you for every penny of it. I am told the great captain is going to pay you a visit, you'll, I believe, find him a better master than usual, but you may thank me for that, and not him, as he is afraid of what will soon happen to him. I said last fall, when M'Vicar was abusing me very much, and very undeservedly, that I would, perhaps, be the

best friend ever the colonists met with, and I hope to make my word good to such as will deserve it of me; but, at the same time, I shall certainly be the greatest enemy they met with yet to any one that will again take up arms to fly in the face of the law, or to plunder.—I remember that you, Livingston, did not take arms last fall; don't be afraid that Captain M'Donell will ever know any of my secrets from me, but take care that Mrs. M'Lean here will know none of your secrets, for she would sell her own brother to him, if he was here. I am afraid you'll not be able to read this scrawl, as I am really in great haste, and remain,

Your sincere well-wisher,

(Signed) D. CAMERON.

P. S. You may trust the Bearer with any thing you may have to say.

Messrs. Hector M'Eachern,
and Donald Livingston.

Gibraltar, 10th March, 1815.

YOUR joint letter of the 6th instant, was handed to me by honest John Somerville, and I am happy, on your own accounts, that you are still of the same way of thinking, as it will afford me an opportunity of delivering so many people from bondage, and not only that, but even to save your lives, which is every day in danger from both Soteuse and Scioux.—Besides, if the country was both peaceable and good, Captain M'Donnell's violent and foolish conduct would drive all honest men out of it, as none but rogues and robbers will answer his purpose.—You tell me that John M'Vicar will, perhaps, become a Canadian yet; I certainly have great cause to be displeased with him for his violent conduct and abusive language to me last fall, and could even get him tried for his life, but still my humanity is such as to pardon all that.—If he will acknowledge his fault, and make application to me for a passage, he shall have it, and I pledge my word and honour that nothing shall be attempted against him for his past conduct, as I am much more inclined to save the lives of poor people than I am to mean revenge against a countryman, who, I am told, is the son of an honest respectable man. M'Eachern, and any others that chooses to come here, shall be made welcome, and shall be protected against any insult.—As for any money any of you had in their hands, they will make such

accounts against all married men for the maintenance of their families, that there will not be a penny coming to them. You need not expect any justice whatever from them here, but, perhaps, you may get it elsewhere by law; however, the surest way is to get whatever you can out of their store, and I will take any article that can be of use here off of your hands, and pay you in Canada for them; my door is open to any one that chooses to come, at all times, and we'll make the best shift we can for living till spring.

I remain,

Your sincere well-wisher,

(Signed) D. CAMERON.

The originals of the above letters were given in by H. M'Eachern with his deposition, taken, upon oath, at Montreal, in October 1815.

To the Servants of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, and those of the Settlement of Red River.

My Lads,

You have once already been fully apprized by a gentleman here, that in all our endeavours to bring the prisoner, Mr. Miles M'Donell, to justice, the smallest intention to injure your persons, public or private property, as well as that of your employers, was never by me in contemplation. As several of you were not then present, and are probably now deluded by your employers, by advising you to act contrary to law, I think it necessary, once more for all, to advise you as a fellow-subject, to pay due respect, submission, and obedience, to the law of our blessed constitution.—And I further declare, that any person or persons who shall be found in future attempting, by any means, to rescue and screen the prisoner from justice, shall immediately be considered as accomplices in his crimes, and treated accordingly. That your own good sense and judgment may dictate to you, free of party spirit, a true sense of the impropriety of violating, or acting in direct opposition to, your country's laws, is, my Lads, the sincere wish of your well-wisher,

(Signed) D. CAMERON,

Captain, Voyageur Corps,
Commanding Officer, Red River.

Red River, Indian Territory,
June 7, 1815.

[D.]

Deposition of Michael M'Donnell.

Montreal, to wit, } MICHAEL M'DONNELL, late of Red River, in the territories of the Hudson Bay Company, a clerk in the service of Earl Selkirk at Red River aforesaid, now at the city of Montreal, in the province of Lower Canada, maketh oath, That about the eighteenth day of April last, the deponent, being then a clerk in the service of the Earl of Selkirk as aforesaid, was apprehended and made prisoner by the servants of the North-West Company, under a warrant under the hand and seal of A. Norman M'Leod, Esq. for an alledged breach of the peace, and was conveyed and detained a prisoner at a fort or post in the possession of the said North-West Company, at a place called the Forks, at Red River aforesaid.—That while the deponent was detained at the said fort or post, the same was under the command and orders of one Duncan Cameron, a partner in the said North-West Company, in whose custody the deponent was.—That, on or about the tenth day of June last, the deponent being still in the said fort, an attack was made by an armed force, composed of persons under the orders of the said Duncan Cameron (who were furnished with arms and ammunition for that purpose in the said fort,) on the settlement of the colonists at Red River aforesaid, in the night of that day, and upon the return of the party to the said fort or post, the deponent heard one Cuthbert Grant, a man of the half-breed, and a clerk in the service of the said North-West Company, who had been one of the party by which the said attack was made, declare, that not a man of the said settlement should put out his head the next day without being popped off, and this was said in the presence and hearing of the said Duncan Cameron, who acquiesced in, and approved of what was so said by the said Cuthbert Grant. That the day following the said party of men sallied forth from the said fort about break of day to renew the attack on the said settlement, and upon their return, the deponent heard the said Grant, and one Seraphim, also a clerk in the service of the said North-West Company, and others of the said party, speak of the attack which they had just made on the Government House in the said settlement, in which it was said some of the settlers or persons residing in the colony had been wounded, and several of them boasted of what they had done. That the consequence of the said attacks was a surrender of the said settlement to the said Duncan

Cameron, and the houses and buildings of all descriptions were afterwards burnt by the persons aforesaid, being under the command and orders of the said Duncan Cameron, and the settlers and inhabitants of the colony conveyed away by, or under, the orders of the said Duncan Cameron.—That, after the destruction of the said settlement as aforesaid, the deponent, while a prisoner in the said fort, was present at part of a speech made by Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, to the persons in the said fort, in which he assured the Canadians, and Indians of the half-breed, by whom the said settlement had been destroyed, that they would be supported by the said North-West Company in every thing they had done. That the deponent has heard the said Duncan Cameron and Alexander M'Donell say, that the settlement aforesaid could not succeed without the countenance of the said North-West Company, and he has also heard them declare that there should be no settlement there. That while the deponent was a prisoner as aforesaid, various inducements were held out to him by the said Duncan Cameron and Alexander M'Donell, to enter into the service of the said North-West Company, which he declined doing. That while the deponent was in the said fort, he saw there horses, muskets, cannon, and farming utensils, which had belonged to the said colony, and which were then in the use of the persons in the said fort.

(Signed) MICHAEL M'DONNELL.

Sworn at Montreal, this 20th day of
September, 1815, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J.P.

[E.]

Deposition of John Cooper.

Home District, York, to wit. } THE information of John Cooper, late of Red River, in the district of Ossiniboia, territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, saith, that he went from Orkney, in the year 1811, as an indented servant, and arrived at Red River in autumn 1812, along with Miles Macdonell, Esq. governor of the settlement, and continued under his command till the expiration of his contract in 1814, at which time he, the deponent, was entitled to a free

passage home, and might have gone home if he had desired it, but he preferred remaining at Red River as a settler.—That he married about the end of the year 1813, and that next spring, before his contracted period of service was expired, he was allowed to plant a piece of ground with potatoes for his own use, from which he had an abundant crop.—That most of the crops had been reaped while the deponent was absent from the settlement, but he was informed that the crops of wheat and barley were good; that he, the deponent, had no intention of leaving Red River, and never applied to the North-West Company for the means of going away; but that early last winter Mr. Duncan Cameron, master of the trading post of the said North-West Company on Red River, advised him, deponent, to go to Canada, and offered to procure the means of conveyance for him, saying, that he should be brought to a good country, where the settlers might save their lives, and be in a good situation. He, the said Duncan Cameron, also told him, deponent, that the Indians intended to destroy the settlers at Red River, men, women, and children, and were restrained only by the influence of himself, the said Duncan Cameron; that these representations were repeated to the deponent several different times before he agreed to come away from the settlement, and he did not agree till he heard that a great many of the other settlers had resolved to go. That on the morning of the day when the cannon of the colony were taken away by the settlers, George Campbell came to the house of Neil M'Kinnon, where deponent resided, and read to them a paper or letter from the said Duncan Cameron, saying, that the settlers must take the cannon, otherwise they would themselves be in danger from them. He, deponent, would not agree to assist in removing the cannon, but agreed to go along with George Campbell into the house occupied by the officers of the settlement, in order to deliver Mr. Duncan Cameron's letter; that, while they were thus engaged, the cannon had been taken out by others of the settlers, and placed on sledges, on which they were carried away; and when he, deponent, came out of the house, he saw the said Duncan Cameron, who was coming out of a wood at a short distance, and went with the settlers and the cannon to his own fort or trading post, where he took in the cannon, and entertained, with drams, all those who had assisted in bringing them.—That the deponent soon after left the settlement, and went to another trading post of the North-West Company, from which he returned in the month of May, and staid for ten or twelve days at the aforesaid fort on Red River, where he

saw a great number of men assembled. There were many more of the Canadian servants of the North-West Company than had been there during the winter.—Also, about thirty half-Indians, who expressed violent hostility against the settlement.—He, deponent, had been, in the course of the winter, in the plains near Pembina, where he saw the same half-Indians, and heard them express the same hostility against the settlement; but the deponent never saw any thing of the same kind during the two preceding winters; that, on the contrary, many of the same half-Indians were then in the habit of trading with the officers of the settlement, and supplying them with buffaloe meat and other game, which they refused to sell last winter.

(Signed) JOHN COOPER.

Sworn before me, at York, the
12th day of February, 1816.
(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J.P.

[F.]

Deposition of Robert Sutherland.

Home District, to wit, } THE information of Robert Sutherland, late of Red River, in the district of Ossiniboia, territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. Deponent being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, saith, that he arrived at Red River in June 1814, and was well pleased with the appearance of the country; that the crops which he saw in the ensuing harvest were very good; and the wheat was good. That he, deponent, understood that the settlers in general were as well pleased as himself, nor thought of leaving the country till after the arrest of Mr. Spencer; and the deponent is of opinion, that if Mr. Spencer had not been taken away, none of the settlers would have thought of leaving the country. That the deponent never observed any appearance of hostility among the Indians, whom they, the settlers, saw during the summer, nor entertained any apprehension of danger, till they, the settlers, heard from the servants of the North-West Company, that Duncan Cameron, master of this trading post of the said Company, told deponent and his wife, that the Indians would come in the spring, and murder all the settlers, after he, Duncan Cameron, would leave the place

in the spring, when the Indians would certainly murder them all. Duncan Cameron also said, that Miles Macdonell, Esq. governor of the settlement, would have no provisions to give to the settlers, unless he (Miles Macdonell) would take it by force, as he had done before; for that reason, Duncan Cameron told deponent and his wife, that they might have a passage to Canada, if they chose; and said to deponent and his wife, they should not only have a free passage to Canada, but that the Government would give them lands and provisions for a year; or, if Government did not do so, the North-West Company would. That deponent was with the said Duncan Cameron about half an hour; deponent's wife went with him; and that Cameron, during that time, told them of the intentions of the Indians, after he (Cameron) left the place; and promised deponent and his wife a passage to Canada, free of expense, lands and provisions, as stated before. That deponent and his wife had gone to the said Cameron, in consequence of the reports about the Indians, and for the purpose of asking a passage from the said Cameron.—Deponent frequently heard Cameron say, that he was a King's officer, and that Miles Macdonell, Esq. had no authority from the King, or no lawful authority. Deponent heard a letter read by George Campbell, one of the settlers, from Duncan Cameron, saying, that it was necessary for the settlers to take possession of the cannon of the colony, in order to prevent mischief; and that he, Duncan Cameron, would indemnify the settlers from the consequences of taking them.—That deponent was present when the settlers, in pursuance of this advice, did seize upon and carry away the cannon; that as soon as they had possession of them, a shot was fired; which deponent believes to have been intended as a signal; and that, immediately after, the said Duncan Cameron came out of a wood, where he had been concealed, at a short distance, along with Cuthbert Grant, and William Shaw, clerks in the service of the North-West Company, and a party of armed men, who conducted the guns to the fort, or trading post of the said Company, when each of the settlers present at the taking of the guns, got a dram.—Deponent says, that in the month of January, when Miles Macdonell, Esq. set out for Pembina, a number of the young men at the settlement were desired to go with him to the plains, in order to procure buffaloe meat; they refused to go. Deponent heard the said Duncan Cameron say, that Miles Macdonell would not be able to get any meat in the plains, because he had not paid his hunters last year, and none would hunt for him now; and deponent believes that it was in consequence of

these representations, that the settlers refused to go with the said Miles Macdonell to the plains.

Deponent says, that on the cannon being put into the French fort, the settlers returned to their houses, where they staid a few days, and then went on with George Campbell, about three days journey; when George Campbell told them, that William Shaw was made prisoner, and they, the settlers, must go back and relieve him, the said Shaw; that the settlers were all armed, and had powder and shot, and that they did return; that William Shaw was liberated without their assistance, and they again set out on their journey.

His
(Signed) ROBERT + SUTHERLAND.
Mark.

Sworn before me, at York, the
17th February, 1816.
(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[G.]

Deposition of Angus M'Kay.

Home District, to wit. } THE information of Angus M'Kay, late of Red River, in the district of Ossiniboia, and territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, who saith, that it is consistent with his knowledge, that when Miles Macdonell, Esq. governor of the country of Ossiniboia, set out from the Forks of Red River, in the month of January, last year, he desired that a number of the young men should go with him to the plains, in order to procure provisions for themselves and the rest of the settlers; but that they refused to go, having been led to believe, that it was his intention to rob the North-West Company of their provisions, instead of procuring them fairly.—That the deponent was in dread of the Indians; having been told by officers of the North-West Company, that the Indians intended to murder all the settlers; and he was also in fear of want of provisions; in consequence of which, the deponent applied to Duncan Cameron, master of the North-West Company's trading post, by whom he was assured that all the settlers should receive lands in Upper Canada; and if Government would not give them, the North-West Company would.

That in the month of March, it was reported among the settlers, that Mr. Archibald M'Donald had said, that the cannon should be mounted on the large boat, to prevent the settlers from going away; and, that the same had been said by three Irish labourers in the service of the colony; which reports created great uneasiness among the settlers; that on a Saturday evening, about the end of March, George Campbell, communicated to John Matheson, junior, and to the deponent, a plan for seizing the cannon on the following Monday, at the time when the settlers would be assembled at the store-house of the colony, to receive their monthly supply of provisions; and that the said George Campbell read them a letter from the said Duncan Cameron, saying, that all the settlers, who wished to go to Canada, must help to take the cannon; and George Campbell also read to the deponent a copy of a letter from the said Duncan Cameron to Archibald M'Donald, ordering him to deliver up the cannon, because they were used to stop the King's highway, meaning the navigation of the river; and declaring that the cannon should be taken only to prevent harm, and not to make any bad use of them.—That, on the following day, the said George Campbell, with the deponent, and John Matheson, communicated this order to the rest of the settlers who had assembled for divine service.—That, on the fore-noon of Monday, the settlers assembled as had been agreed upon; and after most of them had received their supply of provisions, George Campbell took the deponent and another of the settlers with him into the house, to deliver a letter to Mr. Archibald M'Donald, which the deponent understood to be the order from Mr. Duncan Cameron, to deliver up the cannon —That Mr. M'Donald did not attempt to resist, but called three witnesses, (one Kilbride was one of them; deponent does not know the others,) to attest that they were taken by force against his will; that, in the mean time, others of the settlers had taken the cannon out of the store; and when the deponent came out of the house, they were nearly ready to be carried away, on the sledges which had been prepared.—That when they were ready, one of the settlers, whom the deponent believes to have been Robert Gunn, fired a shot, and that Mr. Duncan Cameron then came forward, and met the settlers at the distance of thirty or forty yards from the house, when he shook hands with some of them, signifying his pleasure at what they had done.—That the deponent afterwards left the Red River, and came to Canada in the canoes of the North-West Company, and was for some time at Fort William on his way, where he heard several of the clerks of the North-West

Company say, that the Company were in no fear of the consequences of what they had done at Red River.—The persons who went in to deliver the order to M'Donald, to deliver the cannon, were deponent, Andrew M'Beth, and George Campbell, who went in first.

(Signed) ANGUS M'KAY.

Sworn before me, at York, in the Home District, Province of Upper Canada, the 10th day of February, 1816.

(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[II.]

Deposition of Neil M'Kinnon.

Home District, York, to wit. INFORMATION of Neil M'Kinnon, late of Red River, in the district of Ossiniboia, territories of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Deponent being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, saith, that he arrived at Red River aforesaid, in the year 1812, that the Indians always behaved in a very friendly manner to the settlers, and they never had any fear of them till last winter.—Mr. Duncan Cameron, master of the trading post of the North-West Company at the Forks of Red River, told the settlers, that the Indians had determined to murder them all, unless they would quit the settlement.—Deponent heard this story from George Campbell.—That about the month of January last, the said Duncan Cameron advised deponent to go to Canada, and offered to give him a passage in the canoes of the North-West Company. Cameron said Canada was a good country, and he would take him to Montreal. That on the day when the cannon were taken away by the settlers, deponent was at John Matheson's house, about a quarter of a mile distant, and saw a party of men conceal themselves in a clump of wood within a short distance of the house belonging to the governor of the colony, where they waited till the settlers had brought out the cannon, and then came forward to receive them, and convey them to the fort, or trading post of the North-West Company.—That when deponent went away from Red River, deponent had some implements of agriculture out of the store of the colony; that when he was coming away, he

asked Mr. Duncan Cameron whether he should return them into the store of the colony. Cameron said, "put them "into my store; if Lord Selkirk has any right to them they "shall be returned to him, but they are marked down against "you in the books, and you will have to pay for them "whether or not;" and he did deliver into the store of the North-West Company, two hoes, one axe, and one spade. He also gave in other articles belonging to himself, and deponent received seven or eight pounds for them from Duncan Cameron after he had come to Fort William on Lake Superior. Deponent thought that by delivering back these things he would not have to pay for them hereafter.

His
(Signed) NEIL + M'KINNON.
Mark.

Sworn before me, at York,
16th February, 1816,
(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[I.]

Deposition of Michael Kilbride.

District of Ossiniboia. } THE information of Michael Kilbride, taken upon oath before me, Miles Macdonell, Esq. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in said district.

Deponent declares, that on Monday, the 3rd of April instant, about one o'clock, P. M. George Campbell entered the servant's house, and told him, that they were going to take away the field-pieces. Deponent told the said George Campbell that that was a bad business. Campbell replied, that they could not help it, as it was Captain Cameron's orders that the field-pieces should be taken to his fort till the settlers left this country; and the said George Campbell, at the same time, shewed deponent a pair of pocket pistols, which he thinks was done with the intention of frightening him. Deponent went out to inform Mr. Bourke, but could not find him. He then saw the artillery on horse-sledges, George Bannerman taking hold of a small howitzer, and Robert Gunn standing opposite the door of one of the storehouses with a gun across his breast, which he fired as soon as the artillery were drawn away.—Immediately Mr. Dun-

can Cameron, with a gun in his hand, was seen coming out of the wood, at the head of a party of armed men. When he came to the settlers, deponent saw him shake hands with them, and heard him exclaim, "Well done, my hearty "fellows!" and ask them if there were any more. The deponent also saw John Early with Mr. Cameron's party, and Donald M'Kinnon, John Murray, and others, guarding the outer door of the Government Building, during the time the settlers were carrying away the field-pieces.

His
MICHAEL + KILBRIDE.
Mark.

Sworn at Red River Settlement, this 25th day of April, 1815, before me,

MILES MACDONELL, J. P.

[K.]

Deposition of John Bourke.

District of Ossiniboia. } The information of Mr. John Bourke, taken upon oath before me, Miles Macdonell, Esq. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in said district.

Deponent declares, that on Monday, the 3rd day of April instant, the settlers assembled there to be supplied with provisions, and that about the hour of one, P. M. of the same day, he saw several pieces of the colonial artillery on a horse-sledge, and that he laid hold of one of them to take it off, but was seized by several of the settlers, and told to keep off. Deponent then attempted to get into the mess-room, where Messrs. White and M'Donald were, to inform them of what was going on, but was stopped by Donald Mackinnon, John Murray, and others. Deponent afterwards endeavoured to get into the store-house, where he had been serving out the provisions, but was kept back by Robert Gunn, who guarded the door with a gun across his breast. Deponent further says, that he had not remained long outside till those who guarded the outer door of the main building told him that he might now enter. Deponent further declares, that he saw Mr. Duncan Cameron, of the North-West Company, at the head of a party of armed men coming out of the wood, and as he approached the settlers,

heard him cry out not to be afraid. Deponent afterwards went into the store-house, where the field-pieces were, and found that all of them were carried away, and also a small howitzer.

JOHN P. BOURKE.

Sworn at Red River Settlement, the
25th day of April, 1815, before me,
MILES MACDONELL, J. P.

[L.]

Deposition of Hector M'Eachern.

Montreal, to wit. } HECTOR M'EACHERN, late of the colony of Red River, within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, in North America, now at the city of Montreal, in the province of Lower Canada, taylor, maketh oath, that he was employed in the service of the said colony for nearly three years previous to the month of June last, and lived there with his wife and family. That after some difficulties which they encountered in the first winter after they arrived, were got over, the colonists, and the servants employed in the service of the colony, were well satisfied with their situation; they found the soil and climate excellent, and great facility in obtaining food; and there was none of them that did not desire to remain in the country. This disposition prevailed till the agents and servants of the North-West Company, and particularly one Duncan Cameron, a partner in that Company, employed themselves in exciting dissatisfaction in the minds of some of the settlers and servants, whom they endeavoured to induce to abandon the colony, and go over to the North-West Company; by which great promises of advantage were made to them.—That before these intrigues were practised, every body looked forward to the rapid improvement of the colony; the settlers were so well pleased with it, that they had written to invite their friends in Scotland to follow them; and the indented servants, who had a right to a passage home, preferred remaining as settlers, and applied to Captain M'Donnell for land, that they might become permanent settlers in the colony. That the said Duncan Cameron, as the deponent believes, in order to increase his influence and authority, gave himself out as being a captain

in the King's military service, and wore regimentals, with a sword, &c.—And one Seraphim, a clerk under him, was said to be his ensign. That a short time before the attack on the settlement in June last, the said Cameron, the better to confirm the belief of his military rank and authority, posted over the gate of the place called Fort Gibraltar, written papers, the purport of which was to give him such rank and authority: and on his way down, at a trading post of the North-West Company, called Fort William, the deponent saw new regimental dresses, which had been received for partners in the North-West Company; and he saw two of the said partners there dressed in military uniform. That no apprehensions were felt by the colonists at Red River, upon the score of the Indians, the best understanding having subsisted between them: the Soutoux nation dwelling on and near Red River, in particular, were always kind and obliging, and seemed better disposed towards the settlers than towards the North-West Company: they even continued to hunt as usual for the settlers, after the Canadians and Indians of the half-breed, under the influence of the North-West Company, had refused to do so. The persons who took part with the North-West Company, and under their influence, and at their instigation, became unfriendly to the settlers, were the said Canadians and Indians of the half-breed, who might altogether be in number about ninety or one hundred. The said Canadians consist of men from Lower Canada, who came to the country in the service of the North-West Company, and have been discharged, and now live with Indian women, and of persons of the same description, who are still in the service of that Company; and the said Indians of the half-breed may be thirty or forty in number, and are the natural children of persons in the service of the North-West Company, by Indian women; and many of them are employed in the same service.

That the deponent was at Fort Gibraltar, when nine or ten Indians of the Cree nation were brought thither by Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners of the North-West Company, in May or June last. They were feasted and kept drunk in the said fort for several days, and were then sent to speak to Captain M'Donell; and two or three days after went away. That while the deponent was at the said Fort Gibraltar, as aforesaid, he, the deponent, saw there in the hands of the North-West Company, nine pieces of cannon, which had been provided and used for the defence of the settlement at Red River; and which had been, a few months before, stolen and carried away from thence, and

brought to the said fort; where, upon one occasion, the deponent saw two of them used, and fired from.

(Signed) HECTOR M'EACHERN.

Sworn at Montreal, this 5th December, 1815, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.

[M.]

Deposition of Hector M'Leod.

Home District, York, to wit. } HECTOR M'LEOD, late of the district of Ossiniboia, being duly sworn, saith, that he was engaged along with several others of the settlers at the Red River, in seizing upon and carrying away, and delivering up to the North-West Company several pieces of cannon, the property of the Earl of Selkirk, which had been provided for the defence of the settlement; that he, the deponent, was induced to join in this act, by the assurances of George Campbell and others, who represented that Miles Macdonell, governor of the said district of Ossiniboia, would use force to prevent the settlers from going away; and that, unless the cannon were taken away from him, they would never be able to go away; and that if they remained, the settlers would all be murdered by the Indians. That he, the deponent, saw a letter, which was read to him by John Matheson, or George Campbell, from Duncan Cameron, one of the partners of the North-West Company, ordering the settlers to take away the cannon; and warranting that he, the said Duncan Cameron, would indemnify them from any penal consequences; and he, the deponent, believes that the said Duncan Cameron had authority to act as he did; as he had frequently heard him say, that he was a King's officer; and that on the day the cannon were seized as aforesaid, the said Duncan Cameron came, with several of his clerks and other persons in the service of the North-West Company, to meet the settlers, and received the cannon from them, and carried them away to the trading post of the said North-West Company in the neighbourhood, where he, the deponent, has frequently seen the said cannon afterwards mounted on carriages and prepared for service.

That he, the deponent, had received from Miles Macdonell, Esq. a musket in trust, to be used for his own defence, and that of the settlement; which musket, he, deponent,

carried to the said trading post of the North-West Company, and there delivered it to the said Duncan Cameron, or some person authorised by him; and that the said musket was there left by the deponent, and was neither brought away by him, nor restored to the stores of the settlement.—That he, the deponent, was for several days, in the month of June last, at a camp at Frog Plain, along with a number of half-Indians, Canadians, and others, under the command of Alexander M'Donell, a partner of the North-West Company, by whom he was frequently stationed as a centinel, to see that no boat should pass down the river without his permission. That during his stay in this camp, he knew that the said half-Indians had made prisoners of several of the settlers who were remaining peaceably in their own houses; and he saw them ride over the cultivated ground belonging to several of the said settlers, in such a manner as to tread down and destroy their crops. The settlers brought away, were Alexander Sutherland, Adam Sutherland, George Sutherland, Catherine Sutherland, Catherine M'Pherson, John Smith, his wife, four sons, and two daughters. The said people were brought away against their wills; that the party who went for them were headed by Mr. M'Lean, a clerk of the North-West Company, and that some of the party were armed with loaded guns. Deponent heard said M'Lean tell the settlers, unless they came away, the half-Indians would burn their houses about them. Deponent saw a party go from the North-West fort; the party were headed by Mr. Grant, Mr. Shaw, of the North-West Company, and Early, one of the settlers, for the purpose of burning the houses of the settlement.—Deponent saw them set fire to Captain Macdonell's house; that is, Miles Macdonell, Esq. governor of the territory. Two big houses, the horse mill, and several other houses, with the storehouses, were burnt.—He, deponent, saw the party assist in getting out the goods out of the houses, before they set them on fire, and during the time they were burning; that the horses, hoes, spades, and axes, were sold to the North-West Company; and the settlers were paid for them by Duncan Cameron, who gave at the rate of one dollar for an axe.

His
HECTOR + M'LEOD.
Mark.

Sworn before me, at York, in the Home District, Province of Upper Canada, the 14th February, 1816.

(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[N.]

Deposition of George Sutherland.

GEORGE SUTHERLAND, late settler at Red River, saith, that on or about the 4th day of April last, he and James M'Kay, settler, received a note by the hands of John Matheson, Jun. the following of which is a copy:—

I do hereby order James M'Kay, and George Sutherland, to give up their muskets in the King's name.

D. CAMERON,

Gibraltar. *V. C.*

Deponent would not obey the order: Matheson then wanted to know where his musket was, and as deponent had it concealed, he would not tell him. On or about the 15th of April last, a party of the late settlers and North-West Company's servants, consisting of about thirty men, entered deponent's house, took out his musket, and gave it to George Campbell. Deponent asked it back several times, but could not get it. George Campbell threatened to lash him on one of the sledges, and carry him a prisoner to the North-West Company's fort, and William Sutherland presented his gun at him. Several of the late settlers repeatedly came to deponent's house with messages from Mr. Duncan Cameron, that he would still take him with the rest to Canada, if he would go. On or about the 11th of June last, deponent, Adam Sutherland, his brother, and Allan Smith, went up to the Government House, and when they returned home they were told by John Smith, that others of the settlers had been taken away by the party of the North-West Company's servants, and half-breeds, commanded by Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean, a clerk in the service of the North-West Company, to an encampment they had formed at Frog Plain. When deponent, his brother, and Allan Smith, arrived at their house, they found their baggage packed up, and some of the North-West Company's servants and half-breeds soon afterwards arrived, and forced them to go to the encampment at the Frog Plain. The same party took deponent's trading gun and powder-horn, which were never returned. Deponent declares, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell, a partner of the North-West Company, who had the command, went into the tent where the

settlers were, and told them, as they were countrymen of his, he would be candid with them in telling them, that they (*viz.* the North-West Company,) were the means of saving them from the half-breeds, as it was quite uncertain but that they would kill them in the night if they remained in their houses. Deponent also saith, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell sent Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean for a piece of paper to write down their names, and he began at the top with "Prisoners of War," with their names annexed. After this, deponent heard Mr. Alexander M'Donell say in English, to Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean, to tell the settlers in Gaelic, that it was of no use to conceal what their intentions were, that they would take them prisoners to Canada if they did not consent to go as the others did. Deponent answered if he was obliged to go, he would rather go as a prisoner, as he knew there was nothing against him. Deponent argued in behalf of the rest, and at last was told by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, that "he was a devil of a brat of a boy, and, as "he was young, what sense had he more than the rest?" He then gave deponent and the rest a few minutes to make up their minds what to do. Deponent then called Allan Smith out of the tent to consult with him, but was soon after told by Mr. William Shaw, that Mr. M'Donell wanted him. A man, under the name of a constable, then clapped his hand on deponent's shoulder, and Mr. M'Donell told him that he was a prisoner in the King's name. Deponent arguing with Mr. M'Donell, was told by him, if he did not keep quiet, that he would get him stripped, and would make the people in the camp flog him. Deponent was then put into a separate tent from his friends. Mr. Duncan Cameron arrived at the camp and inquired where deponent and the rest of the settlers were. Deponent answered and went out. He was repeatedly told by Mr. Duncan Cameron to be silent, if not, that he would be put in irons. A few days after that, deponent was removed to a camp where the North-West Company had erected a battery close to the Government House of Red River settlement. The camp consisted of about sixty men, North-West Company's servants, half-breeds, and some of the late settlers and servants of Red River settlement, all under the command of Mr. Alexander M'Donell. Deponent heard Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean, Donald M'Kinnon, and others, saying that they would have Captain Miles Macdonell dead or alive.

After deponent was liberated, he went twice to the North-West Company's fort for his trading gun and his brother's. Mr. Alexander M'Donell told deponent, he was such a good lawyer, that he should not get the guns till he tried it.

Deponent called some of the people around him as witnesses that his private property was taken from him by force.

GEORGE SUTHERLAND.

Sworn at Winnipic Settlement, Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, 11th day of August, 1815, before me,

ARCHIBALD M'DONALD,
Counsellor.

Witness { JAMES WHITE, *Surgeon.*
J. P. BOURKE.

[O.]

Deposition of Patrick M'Nolty.

PATRICK M'NOLTY, late settler at Red River, saith, that on or about the 19th day of June last, Hector M'Eachern, James Pinkman, and Peter Dunn, came from the North-West Company's fort at the Forks of Red River, to deponent's house, and told him that if he did not leave his house, he and his family would be in danger of losing their lives, and that it was by orders of Captain Cameron they came to inform him. In consequence of these threats deponent, with his wife and children, left his house and slept in an open boat upon the river that night. On the following morning deponent went to Mr. Cameron, to ask protection from him to proceed down the river, on his way to Jack River, as he was afraid of being murdered by Mr. Duncan Cameron's servants if he attempted to go down the river without his permission. Mr. Cameron told deponent that he could not go till the whole of the colony went together, for as he had been ordered to leave the country, he was determined to drive out all the settlers, and when they were gone, he would not leave a stick of the buildings one upon the other. Deponent was therefore forced to fly from his house and lands, and left behind him one rood of land prepared for turnip seed, produce of the crop valued at - - - £3 0 0

Buffaloe wool, valued at - - - -	10	0	0
One feather bed and household furniture, valued at - - - - - - - -	2	0	0
Land prepared for potatoes, produce of the crop valued at - - - - -	8	0	0
	£23	0	0

(Signed) PATRICK M'NOLTY.

Sworn at Winnipic Settlement, Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, this 5th day of August, 1815, before me,

ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, *Counsellor.*

Witness { COLIN ROBERTSON,
JAMES WHITE, *Surgeon.*

[P.]

Deposition of Alexander M'Lean.

MR. ALEXANDER M'LEAN, late settler, Red River, saith, that Mr. Duncan Cameron told him that any of the settlers, who would go to Canada, should have from the North-West Company two hundred acres of land, twelve months provisions gratis, and a free passage. Deponent also saith, that he was told by the said Mr. Duncan Cameron, that he would pledge the word of the North-West Company for the fulfilment, and that he himself has, at different times, been solicited by Mr. Duncan Cameron, Mr. J. Dugald Cameron, partners of the North-West Company, to leave Red River settlement, and as an enticement for him to do so, was offered between seven and eight hundred pounds sterling; besides they promised that he should be placed in an independent situation. Mr. Duncan Cameron also promised Mr. M'Lean two hundred pounds out of his own pocket, and his servants' wages to be paid for three years. Mr. J. Dugald Cameron told Mr. M'Lean that ways and means were taken for the destruction of the colony in less than two years. Mr. M'Lean also deposes, that on or about Thursday, the 22nd day of June last, a party of half-breeds entered his house, and what they said was interpreted to him by S. Fidler, that he, with his wife and family, must leave his house, or else it would be set on fire about their heads. The next day, Mr. M'Lean removed to the Government House with the greater part of his property, and on Saturday following, he had the misfortune to see their threat accomplished by his house being burnt to the ground.

(Signed) A. M'LEAN.

Sworn at Winnipic Settlement, Hudson's Bay Territories, this 5th day of August, 1815, before me,

ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, *Counsellor.*

Witness { COLIN ROBERTSON,
JAMES WHITE, *Surgeon.*

See also Appendix, [S.]

[Q.]

Deposition of Joseph Kenny.

Montreal, to wit, } JOSEPH KENNY, late of Red River, in the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, now at the city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, labourer, maketh oath, that he was an indented servant in the service of Earl Selkirk, in the colony at Red River aforesaid, during three years preceding the month of June last.—That while the deponent was in the service of the Earl of Selkirk aforesaid, some time in the month of February last, one James Smith, one of the settlers at Red River aforesaid, shewed to the deponent a letter addressed to him the said James Smith; and which he had received from Duncan Cameron, one of the partners in the North-West Company, in which the said Duncan Cameron proposed to the settlers and servants of Earl Selkirk, at Red River aforesaid, to abandon their situations there, and come over to the trading post of the North-West Company, in the neighbourhood, called by them Gibraltar, assuring the said James Smith, that the said settlers and servants would be well treated, be provided with a passage free of expense, and be conveyed to Montreal, in Lower Canada. That the said James Smith and others, in consequence of the inducements so held out to them by the said Duncan Cameron, did abandon the colony at Red River aforesaid, and went over to the said North-West Company, by whom they were received and taken care of, and afterwards conveyed, some of them to Upper Canada, and others to Lower Canada. That the deponent was among the number of persons who abandoned the said colony, and went over to the said North-West Company, as aforesaid; and it was about the fifth of June last, that the deponent left the said colony, and went to the said trading post, called Gibraltar. That while the deponent was at the said trading post, as aforesaid, about two or three days previous to the eleventh of June last, he observed in the store of the said North-West Company at the said trading post, a number of guns, with powder-horns and shot-bags, prepared and in order to be used, some of the guns being loaded, and the whole fit for immediate action. That, on the eleventh of June last, a party of half-Indians and Canadians, with some clerks in the service of the said North-West Company, were provided with the said guns, powder-horns, and shot-bags, prepared as aforesaid, which they received out of the said store, and sallied forth from the said trading post, and made an attack on the settlements at Red River aforesaid, and kept up a continued fire on the

said settlement for at least half an hour; during which, several persons of the said settlement were wounded. That, among the persons who so sallied forth, were one Seraphim, a Canadian, a clerk in the service of the said North-West Company, one Grant, and one Shaw, Indians of the half-breed, clerks in the service of the said North-West Company, and one Bostonois, also a half-Indian, and an interpreter, in the service of the said North-West Company. That, after the said firing ceased, the said party, with the said clerks at their head, returned shouting, and manifesting their exultation at what had taken place, to the said trading post, where they were received by the said Duncan Cameron, who had the command and charge of the said trading post, and who shook several of them by the hands, and expressed his satisfaction at their conduct.—That the deponent left the said trading post two or three days afterwards, and was conveyed by the North-West Company in their canoes, to the said city of Montreal, where he arrived on the nineteenth day of the present month of October.—That, in coming down, the deponent saw one Joseph Bellegrade, a Canadian, and others of the persons employed in making the said attack on the settlement at Red River, who were then at a trading post of the said North-West Company, called Fort William; and the deponent was told by the said Bellegrade, that he and the said other persons were much dissatisfied with the said North-West Company, for not having fulfilled their promises to them, by which they had been induced to make the said attack on the said settlement, and afterwards to burn and destroy it altogether; the said Bellegrade mentioning at the some time, that what they had so done, had been done at the desire and by the instigation of the said North-West Company.

(Signed) JOSEPH KENNY.

Sworn at Montreal, the 21st
October, 1815, before me,

ELM. St. DIZIER, J. P.

[R.]

Deposition of Donald M'Kinnon.

Montreal, to wit. } Donald M'Kinnon, late of the colony of Red River, in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, in North America, now at the city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, labourer, maketh oath, and saith, that he emigrated from Scotland

in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, to reside in the said colony in the capacity of an indented servant, and arrived in the said colony in the same year, and remained there till the month of March last. That in or about the latter end of last March, one George Campbell, a settler in the said colony, proposed to the deponent to join him, the said George Campbell and others, in seizing nine pieces of cannon, which had been provided for the defence of the colony, and were then lodged in one of the buildings of Earl Selkirk, there; and in conveying them away to a trading post of the North-West Company, in the neighbourhood of the colony, called Fort Gibraltar; the said George Campbell at the some time informing the deponent, that he had orders from Duncan Cameron, one of the partners of the said North-West Company, to seize and convey away the said cannon aforesaid. That the deponent, at the solicitation of the said George Campbell, as aforesaid, did join him in seizing and conveying the said cannon, as aforesaid; and the said George Campbell, aided by the deponent, one George Bannerman, and other settlers of the said colony, did, in the latter end of the said month of March last, seize the said nine pieces of cannon, placed them on sleighs, and conveyed them to the said Fort Gibraltar, where they met with the said Duncan Cameron, and two of his clerks, one Shaw and one Bostonois, opened the store of the said fort, and caused the said nine pieces of cannon to be lodged therein. That the deponent, in company with his father and his family, left Red River aforesaid, in June last, in the canoes of the North-West Company, and was conveyed by them to Fort William, one of the trading posts, where the deponent was compelled by the said North-West Company, and in particular by Kenneth M'Kenzie, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, to separate himself from his father and family, and was brought down against his will to the said city of Montreal.

(Signed) DONALD M'KINNON.

Sworn at Montreal, this 13th day of December, 1815, before me,

(Signed) J. M. MONDELET, J. P.

[S.]

Deposition of Michael M'Donnell.

Montreal, to wit. } MICHAEL M'DONNELL, late of the colony of Red River, in the territories of the Hudson's

Bay Company, now at the city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, maketh oath, that he is acquainted with one George Campbell, one of the colonists who emigrated from Scotland to settle in the said colony of Red River.—That the said George Campbell came to the said colony in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, having arrived at one of the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company on the sea coast, in the summer of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, and remained there till the ensuing spring.—That, in the winter of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, the said George Campbell abandoned the said colony, and went over to the trading post of the North-West Company, in the neighbourhood of the said colony. That the said George Campbell, when he abandoned the said colony as aforesaid, headed a party of the settlers of the said colony, who went off with him; and he and the said party of settlers feloniously stole and carried away with them, from the said colony, nine pieces of cannon, which had been provided for the defence of the colony, and were placed in one of the buildings belonging to the Earl of Selkirk there, and which they conveyed to the said trading post of the North-West Company, called Fort Gibraltar, where they were received by Duncan Cameron, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, who retained the same.—That the said George Campbell, in speaking to the deponent of the said transaction, told him that he had so taken the said cannon by the desire of the said Duncan Cameron, and that he was not afraid of consequences for having done so, as he had a written order from the said Cameron to justify him.

That the said George Campbell, afterwards in the month of June last, assisted in the attack which was made by an armed force, proceeding from the said Fort Gibraltar, on the settlement at Red River aforesaid, and, as this deponent believes, in the destruction of the said colony at Red River, which afterwards took place. That after the said colony had been destroyed, the said George Campbell was brought with the greatest part of the settlers of the colony, by the North-West Company, to Upper Canada, and the deponent travelled in company with the said Campbell as far as a trading post of the said North-West Company, called Fort William.—That while the deponent was in confinement at Fort William aforesaid, under an illegal arrest to which he had been subjected by the procurement of the said North-West Company, the said George Campbell came to him, and in conversation mentioned that he had received one hundred pounds from the said North-West Company, which the deponent understood to be a reward for the part

which the said Campbell had taken in conveying away the cannon, and in the attack on, and destruction of, the colony at Red River aforesaid. That the said Campbell also told the deponent that he expected to get an advantageous situation at St. Joseph's, in consequence of the recommendation, and by the influence of, the North-West Company. That while the deponent was in custody as a prisoner at Fort Gibraltar aforesaid, in June last, Dugald Cameron, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, told the deponent, in the course of conversation, that the said North-West Company had offered Alexander M'Lean, the principal settler in the said colony, as much as four hundred pounds if he would abandon the said colony, and come over to the North-West Company. That while the deponent was in custody at Gibraltar, as aforesaid, he represented to Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the North-West Company, then having charge of the said fort, his anxious wish to be sent forward to the place where his trial was to be had, to which the said Alexander M'Donell answered, that the deponent was to go with him, and that he could not set out till he had seen all the colonists off the ground, and on their way to their future destination.

(Signed) MICHAEL M'DONNELL.

Sworn at Montreal, this 28th day of November, 1815, before me,

(Signed) J. M. MONDELET, J. P.

[T.]

Deposition of James Flynn.

Montreal, to wit. } JAMES FLYNN, late of the colony of Red River, in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, now at the city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, labourer, maketh oath, that on his way down from Red River aforesaid, to Montreal, in the month of June last, he, the deponent, heard Duncan Cameron, one of the partners in the North-West Company, who was then at the River Winipeg, mention, in speaking of the destruction of the colony at the Red River aforesaid, which had recently before taken place, that he had left a person behind him at Red River aforesaid, who would finish the business, meaning the destruction of the said colony. That the deponent also heard a conversation at the River Winipeg aforesaid, between John M'Donell and Alexander M'Kenzie, both

partners in the said North-West Company, in which the said John M'Donell observed, that if the North-West Company had not succeeded in enticing away from the colony of Red River the Irishmen (meaning the Irish servants in the service of Earl Selkirk there,) they would have been unable to affect what they had done; whereupon the said Alexander M'Kenzie, seeing the deponent in the room, said to the said John M'Donell, by way of putting a stop to the conversation, there is Captain Macdonell's servant (meaning the deponent), which induced the deponent to retire. That the deponent was also present at Fort William, in July last, when the said Duncan Cameron, in speaking to others of the partners of the said Company, of the destruction of the settlement at Red River aforesaid, said, "I have done so "much, it is for you to do the rest."

(Signed) JAMES FLYNN.

Sworn at Montreal, this 20th day of September, 1815, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.

[U.]

Drummond's Island, (Upper Canada),
22nd July, 1816.

FROM the Minutes of a Council, held this day, between Kawtawabetay, a Chippewa chief of Sand Lake, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay, Superintendant of Indian Affairs.

Lieutenant-Colonel MAULE of the 104th Regiment, Commanding, and President.
The Right Hon. THOMAS EARL OF SELKIRK.
ALLAN, Surgeon.
DELORIMIER, Captain, Indian Department.
PAUL LA CROIX, Merchant.

Indian Department.
Lieutenant-Colonel WM. M'KAY, Superintendant.
THOMAS G. ANDERSON, Captain.
MICHEL BRISBOIS.
DAVID MITCHELL, Surgeon.
JOHN ASKIN, St. Kr. Int. & Cl.
WILLIAM SOLOMON. } *Interpreters.*
JOSEPH ST. GERMAIN. }
ASSE RENACK, Ottawa Chief.
DESONIER.

EXTRACT.

St. Germain, the interpreter, was directed by the superintendant to ask the Chippewa chief if he had any thing further to say; on which the chief said, Yes, and said—

That in the spring of 1815, whilst at Sand Lake, ——— M'Kenzie and Morrison, told him, Kawtawabetay, that they would give him, and his people, all the goods or merchandize and rum, that they had at Fort William, Leach Lake, and at Sand Lake, if he, the said Kawtawabetay, and his people, would make and declare war against the settlers on the Red River, on which he, Kawtawabetay, asked ——— M'Kenzie and Morrison, if that demand to make war against the settlers at the Red River was by the orders of the great chiefs at Quebec, Montreal, by the commanding officers at Drummond's Island, or St. Joseph's, or from his friend Askin. The answer from M'Kenzie and Morrison was, that the request or proposal came from the agents of the North-West Company, and not from any military order, but solely from the North-West Company's agents, who wished the settlement destroyed, as it was an annoyance to them; on which he, Kawtawabetay, said, he nor his people would not comply to their request or proposals before he, the said chief, went to St. Joseph's and had seen Askin; after his return, would govern himself according to the advice he would get at St. Joseph's.

Kawtawabetay further said, that the last spring, 1816, whilst at the Fond du Lac Superior, ——— Grant, one of the North-West Company, offered him, the said chief, two kegs of rum and two carrots tobacco, if he would send some of his young men in search of some persons employed in taking dispatches to the Red River, and to pillage the said bearers of dispatches of the letters and papers, and to kill them, should they make any resistance. That he, the said chief, refused the reward, and did not pay any further attention to their request. That a short time after the aforementioned conversation had taken place between Grant and himself, one named Laguimoniere, was brought in prisoner by some Ottawa Indians, and a negro, which had been employed after his refusing to act or employ his people.

Kawtawabetay further states, that ——— Grant aforesaid told him not to be surprised to hear that whilst he, the said chief, would be absent, if he took the said chief's son and ten of his young men to the Red River, for he, the said Grant, intended to go to the said river, with twelve of the

Rain Lake Indians, and his people, for the purpose of fighting the settlers at the Red River; that he did not intend to call in the Indians to his aid to fight the settlers, for he, Grant, and his party would be strong enough to drive away the settlers, but wanted the Indians merely as spectators.

Question from the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Selkirk, to Kawtawabetay, by permission of the President and Superintendant of Indian Affairs:

Question.—Are the Indians about the Red River, or that part of the country you came from, pleased or displeased at the people settling at the Red River?

Answer.—At the commencement of the settlement at Red River, some of the Indians did not like it, but at present they are all glad of its being settled.

Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay told Kawtawabetay that he was happy to find that he had not taken the advice of those who wanted to lead him astray, but was glad that he had behaved himself as an obedient child in refusing to take any part with them, and hoped he and his people would continue in being friendly with all the English Merchants, traders, and all the settlers, who were all his Great Father's white children.

A true Extract,
JOHN ASKIN, J. P.

[V.]

Deposition of P. C. Pambrun,

Before me, Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices, assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared, Pierre Chrisologue Pambrun, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposes, that in the month of April last, he was sent to the trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, at *Qui Appelle*, by order of the deceased Governor Semple, from whom the deponent received a letter of instructions, a copy of which he has attested as relation hereto*.—That when he arrived, he found that at the fort or trading post of the North-West Company, near the same place, were assembled, a great

* A copy of these Instructions has not been received with this Deposition.

number of the men, commonly called Brulés, Metifs, or half-breeds, *viz.* the bastard sons of Indian concubines, kept by the partners or servants of the North-West Company; that these people had been collected from a great distance, some of them having come from Cumberland House, and others from the Upper Saskatchwan, or Fort des Prairies, that they uttered violent threats against the colonists on the Red River, in which the deponent understood them to be encouraged by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, then commanding for the North-West Company.—That in the beginning of May, Mr. George Sutherland, commanding the Hudson's Bay post, embarked with the deponent and twenty-two men, in five boats, loaded with twenty-two packs of furs, and about six hundred bags of pemican.—That as they were going down the river, on or about the 12th day of May, they were attacked by a party of forty-nine servants of the North-West Company, composed partly of Canadians, and partly of half-breeds, under the command of Cuthbert Grant, Thomas M'Kay, Roderick M'Kenzie, and Peter Pangman Bostonois, clerks or interpreters of the North-West Company, and Brisbois, a guide in their service, by whom they were attacked with force of arms and taken prisoners, and brought to the fort of the North-West Company, when the deponent saw Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who avowed that it was by his order that the said Grant and others had taken them prisoners, and seized on the provisions and other property of the Hudson's Bay Company, pretending that the measure was justifiable, in retaliation for Mr. Robertson's having lately taken the North-West Company's fort at the Forks of Red River, and declaring that it was his intention to starve the colonists and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, till he should make them surrender.—That after having retained, for five days, the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, taken prisoners as aforesaid, the said Alexander M'Donell liberated them, after having made them promise not to take up arms against the North-West Company, but the deponent was still kept in close confinement. That towards the end of May, the said Alexander M'Donell embarked in his boats and proceeded down the river, escorted by a party of half-breeds on horseback, who followed them by land, and that he carried with him the provisions and furs which his people had taken on the 12th. That the deponent was made to embark in one of the boats, and as they were coming down the river, he was told by several of the servants of the North-West Company, that Alexander M'Donell had said the business of last year was a trifle in comparison with that which would take place this

year, and that the North-West Company and the half-breeds were now one and the same. That, at the Forks of Ossiniboyne River, they met a Sautoux chief with his band, to whom the said Mr. M'Donell made a speech, the purport of which was, that the English (meaning the settlers on Red River, and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company) were spoiling the lands which belonged to the Indians and half-breeds only; that they were driving away the buffaloe, and would render the Indians poor and miserable, but that the North-West Company would drive them away since the Indians did not choose to do it; that if the settlers resisted, the ground should be drenched with their blood; that none should be spared; that he did not need the assistance of the Indians, but nevertheless he would be glad if some of their young men would join him.—That when the party came within a few miles of the Hudson's Bay Company's fort at Brandon House, the said Cuthbert Grant was sent with a party of about twenty-five men, who took the post and pillaged it of every thing, including not only the goods, provisions, and furs, belonging to the Company, but also the private property of their servants, which the deponent saw distributed among the servants of the North-West Company, Canadians as well as half-breeds.—That after this, the said M'Donell divided his forces into brigades, and Cuthbert Grant, Lacerpe, Alexander Fraser, and Antoine Hoole, were appointed to command different brigades, and that Seraphim Lamar acted as lieutenant over the whole, under the said M'Donell; that the whole force amounted to about one hundred and twenty men, among whom there were six Indians.—That on arriving at Portage des Prairies, the pemican was landed, and arranged so as to form a small fort, guarded by two brass swivels, which had been taken last year from the stores of the settlement. That on or about the 18th of June, two days after their arrival at Portage des Prairies, the said Grant, Lacerpe, Fraser, and Hoole, and Thomas M'Kay, were sent with about seventy men to attack the colony, and the said M'Donell, with several of his officers, and about forty men, remained with the pemican. That in the evening of the 20th of June, a messenger arrived from Cuthbert Grant, who reported that they had killed Governor Semple, with five of his officers and sixteen of his men, on which the said M'Donell, and all the gentlemen with him, (particularly Seraphim Lamar, Allan M'Donell, and Seivwright,) shouted with joy.—That Alexander M'Donell then went to announce the news to the rest of his people, crying out, "Sacré nom de Dieu! bonnes nouvelles, vingt-"deux Anglois de tués."—That Bostonois then inquired

whether any of the half-breeds had been killed, and on being told of one, he said the deceased was his cousin, and his death must be revenged, that the affair must not end there, that the settlers must all be killed, and not one be allowed to leave the river, for as long as one of those dogs was alive they would be coming back. That on this the said Alexander M'Donell sent two messengers with orders to Grant, to detain the settlers till his arrival. That on deponent's arrival at Fort Douglas, all the settlers were away, and the place in possession of the half-breeds under Grant. That two days afterwards Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod and Alexander M'Kenzie arrived, as agents of the North-West Company, and also James Leith, John M'Donell, Hugh M'Gillis, John M'Laughlin, Simon Fraser, Archibald M'Lellan, John Duncan Campbell, John Haldane, James Hughes, Thomas M'Murrie, with the said Alexander M'Donell, all these partners, and also Allan M'Donell, then a clerk and now a partner of the North-West Company; that these gentlemen held a council with the half-breeds who had been engaged in the massacre of Governor Semple and the settlers, made presents to them, and made a speech to them, at which deponent was not allowed to be present. That when deponent was coming away from this place, the said Alexander M'Donell lent to him a pair of pistols which had belonged to Governor Semple. That deponent also saw, in possession of the said Allan M'Donell, a double-barrelled fowling-piece, likewise the property of Governor Semple, and was informed that it had been bought from Coutanaha, one of the half-breeds who had been engaged in the massacre.—That since the deponent has been at Fort William, he has seen here many Canadians and half-breeds who had been engaged in the massacre, and also in the robberies at Qui Appelle and Brandon House. That these men have been favourably received, entertained, and protected by the partners of the North-West Company, now at Fort William. That the said Brisbois, in particular, has dined daily at the table of the partners, and the deponent has reason to believe that all the partners who are now at Fort William, or have been here since the deponent's arrival, looked upon the crimes which had been committed on Red River by the half-breeds and others under the command of Alexander M'Donell, as services done to the North-West Company, and have rewarded them accordingly;—that each of the Canadians and half-breeds who was engaged in the massacre, received a present of clothing; and that some who had not been supplied at the Forks of Red River, received articles of the same description, and to the same

amount at Fort William; and the deponent has been informed by these men, that the said presents or equipment was an extraordinary allowance given only to the men who were engaged in that action:

(Signed)
PIERRE CHRISOLOGUE PAMBRUN.

Sworn before me, at Fort William, on
the 16th day of August, 1816,
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[W.]

Deposition of A. Lavigne.

Before Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, and likewise in the Indian territories or parts of America, appeared Augustin Lavigne, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'il étoit au Fort de la Rivière à la Souris le printemps passé, quand Monsieur Alexander M'Donell est descendu de la Rivière Qu' Appelle avec une quantité de Brulés; qu'il s'est embarqué dans un des bateaux, et descendit jusqu'au Portage de la Prairie, où il debarqua par ordre du dit Monsieur M'Donell; et fut placé dans la compagnie de Grant, un des commis de la Société du Nord-Ouest, avec lequel il s'est rendu à cheval à la Fourche de la Rivière Rouge aux environs du Fort Anglois occupé par le Gouverneur de la Baye de Hudson. Que dans l'après-midi du 19 Juin, les trois compagnies qui étoient partis ensemble du Portage la Prairie, s'approchèrent de la Grenouillière, aux environs de laquelle plusieurs habitants cultivateurs étoient campés, à la distance d'environ deux lieux du Fort Anglois; qu'alors le dit Lavigne s'est séparé de la bande avec deux de ses camarades pour aller visiter un habitant qu'il connoissoit, qu'ils rencontrèrent deux jeunes gens avec lesquels ils entrèrent en conversation; et qu'ensuite ils ont rejoint une bande de Brulés qui les ont accusé de lâcheté pour ne pas avoir prit prisonniers ces deux Anglois, en se vantant qu'ils avoient eux-mêmes pris six. Que ces Brulés alloient se mettre à la poursuite de ces deux Anglois, quand on a vu approcher la compagnie du Gouverneur Semple; que les Brulés ont

rejoint leur bande; que le deposant Lavigne alla chercher son cheval qu'il avoit laissé en arrière; que revenant à cheval, il entendit les cris, et les coups de fusils; mais, avant son arrivé, l'affaire étoit finie, et qu'il ne restoit que les Brulés sur la place, qui tiroient encore sur les blessés qui ne faisoient pas de resistance. Le deposant ajoute qu'il vit Monsieur Pritchard, et un autre Anglois, qui avoient jetté leurs armes, demandant grâce. Que le deposant avec beaucoup de peine reussit à sauver Monsieur Pritchard, et qu'en le protegeant il a reçu beaucoups de coups de crosse du fusil, et que le deposant vit que l'autre Anglois fut tué par un des Brulés par un coup de feu.

Que peu de jours après cette affaire eut lieu, arrivèrent Messieurs M'Leod et M'Kenzie, agents de la Société du Nord-Ouest, accompagnés de plusieurs autres bourgeois, et commis; qu'ils distribuèrent aux Brulés des habillements qui avoient été apportés dans le canôt du dit M'Leod. Que Monsieur M'Leod rassembla tous les Brulés qui avoient été dans l'affaire du dix-neuvième, et leur addressa le discours suivant:—

"Mes parens, mes pareilles, qui nous ont soulagé dans le "besoin—J'ai apporté de quoi vous habiller. Je croyois "trouver une quarantaine de vous autres ici avec Monsieur "M'Donell, mais vous êtes plus. J'ai quarante habille-"ments. Mais ceux qui en ont le plus de besoin prendront "ceux là; les autres, à l'arrivée des canôts cet automne, "seront habillés pareillement."

sa
(Signed) AUGUSTIN + LAVIGNE.
Marque.

Témoin,
(Signed) G. A. FAUCHE.

Sworn at Fort William, on the
17th August, 1816.
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

That he (A. Lavigne) was at the fort upon Mouse River last spring, when Mr. Alexander M'Donell came down from the River Qu'Appelle with a number of Brulés, that the deponent embarked in one of the boats, and went down as far as the Portage de la Prairie, where he disembarked by the orders of

the said Mr. M'Donell, and was placed in the party commanded by Grant, one of the clerks of the North-West Company, along with whom he went on horseback to the Forks of Red River, near the English fort, occupied by the governor of Hudson's Bay. That in the afternoon of the 19th of June, the three parties who had left the Portage la Prairie together, drew near to the Frog Plain, in the neighbourhood of which several of the agricultural settlers were stationed, at the distance of about two leagues from the English fort. That then the said Lavigne left the band along with two of his companions, to go and visit an inhabitant with whom he was acquainted; that they met two young persons with whom they entered into conversation, and that afterwards they rejoined a band of Brulés, who accused them of cowardice for not having made prisoners of these two English, boasting that they themselves had taken six. That these Brulés were then going to pursue these said two English, when Governor Semple and his party were seen coming towards them; that the Brulés rejoined their band; that the deponent Lavigne, went to fetch his horse which he had left behind; that returning on horseback he heard the cries, and the reports of fire-arms, but, before he arrived, the affair was over, and there remained none on the spot, but the Brulés, who were still firing on the wounded, who made no resistance. The deponent adds, that he saw Mr. Pritchard, and another Englishman, who had thrown down their arms, begging for mercy, That the deponent, with much difficulty, succeeded in saving Mr. Pritchard, and that in protecting him he received many blows with the butt-end of the muskets; and that the deponent saw the other Englishman killed by a shot from one of the Brulés.

That a few days after this affair, Messrs. M'Leod and M'Kenzie, agents of the North-West Company, arrived, accompanied by several partners and clerks, that they distributed to the Brulés clothes which had been brought in the said M'Leod's canoe. That Mr. M'Leod assembled all the Brulés who had been in the affair of the 19th, and made them the following speech.—"My kinsmen, my comrades, who have helped us in "the time of need, I have brought clothing for you. I expected "to have found about forty of you here with Mr. M'Donell, but "there are more of you. I have forty suits of clothing; those "who are most in need of them, may have these, and, on the "arrival of the canoes in autumn, the rest of you shall be clothed "likewise."

His
(Signed) AUGUSTIN + LAVIGNE.
Mark.

Witness,
(Signed) G. A. FAUCHE.

Sworn at Fort William, on the 17th of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[X.]

Deposition of Louis Nolin.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared Louis Nolin, clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'à la fin de l'été de l'année 1815, il arriva à la Rivière Rouge, avec Monsieur Robertson ; que deux jours après leur arrivé il se tint une consultation dans le fort du Nord-Ouest occupé par Duncan Cameron, entre Cameron, ses commis et interprètes, pour trouver le moyen de chasser d'un coup de main les colons qui revenoient s'établir là : le deposant n'étoit pas present, mais Peter Pangman, dit Bostonois, lui a raconté quelques mois après, que lui, Bostonois, y avoit observé aux autres qu'il seroit sans doute plus facile de chasser les colons tout de suite, mais qu'il ne savoit pas de quelle excuse on pourroit se servir dans ce moment, et que par cet raison, on a determiné d'attendre jusqu'à-ce-qu'on put trouver quelque pretexte, esperant toujours que les colons seroient contraints de quitter le pays faute de provisions.

Le deposant ajoute que dans le mois d'Octobre de l'année 1815, deux sauvages revenant du fort occupé par Duncan Cameron, dirent à lui deposant que Charles Hesse les avoit menacé de les faire perir s'ils avoient encore quelque communication avec les colons Anglois.

Le deposant informe que dans le courant de l'hiver dernier Seraphim Lamar lui dit qu'il avoit reçu une lettre d'Alexandre Fraser (stationé à la Rivière Qu'Appelle) dans laquelle il lui conseilloit de ne pas perdre courage, que lui, Fraser, étoit le cinquième qui pourroit lever les Bois-Brulés pour aller exterminer, le printemps prochain, les Anglois qui se trouveroient sur la Rivière Rouge.

Le deposant declare que le matin du 17 Juin, 1816, le Gouverneur Semple le fit appeller pour lui servir d'interprète à deux sauvages appellé l'un Moustouche, et l'autre Courte Aureille, qui avoient quitté le camp des Bois-Brulés, qui étoit commandé par Alexandre M'Donell. Ces deux deserteurs apprirent au Gouverneur qu'il devoit être attaqué dans deux jours par les Bois-Brulés qui étoient commandé par Cuthbert Grant, Hoole, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe, et Thomas M'Kay, tous employés au service du

Nord-Ouest; qu'ils étoient tous determinés de prendre le fort, et que si quelqu'un s'y opposoit, ils tueroient hommes, femmes et enfans, et que s'ils attrappoient Monsieur Robertson ils le couperoient en mille morceaux.

Le deposant informe de plus que le 19 Juin dans l'après-midi, il vit arriver une cinquantaine des Bois-Brulés, ou Metifs, qui s'avancoient près des maisons des Anglois qui occupoient le haut de la Grenouillière (endroit eloigné d'une lieue du fort Anglois); le deposant étant devant le fort il en vit sortir le Gouverneur Semple avec vingt-huit hommes, le deposant monta sur un bastion, dont il vit le Gouverneur Semple arranger ses hommes en ligne. Il envoya un homme à cheval pour s'informer de ce qui se passeroit, que bientôt le deposant vit arriver au fort Monsieur Bourke qui y venoit chercher une pièce de cannon par ordre du Gouverneur Semple. L'exprès du deposant arriva bientôt, et lui annonça qu'il y avoit une grande quantité de Metifs qui avoient enlever le Gouverneur, sur quoi le deposant envoya une seconde fois son homme, pour s'informer de ce qui se passoit; six minutes après, son homme fut de retour et annonça que cinq de ces Messieurs Anglois et le Gouverneur Semple avoient été tués ainsi que plusieurs de leurs hommes; tandis que les Metifs n'en avoient perdu qu'un seul.—Monsieur Bourke rentra au fort, blessé.

Le vingt de Juin le deposant se rendit au camp des Bois-Brulés qui se trouvoient à la Grenouillière; il y reconnut dans le camp ennemi deux hommes et une femme qui appartenoient à la colonie, qui avoient été pris avant que le Gouverneur Semple eut joint les Bois-Brulés.

Le deposant entra en conversation avec Cuthbert Grant, M'Kay, Hoole, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe, qui se vantoient chacun en particulier de leurs exploits, dans la battaille du 19 Juin contre les Anglois; Cuthbert Grant disoit qui si on ne lui remettoit pas le Fort Douglas, le jour suivant, il tueroit hommes, femmes, et enfants.

Le 21 les Anglois cedèrent le Fort Douglas au Metifs, (ou Bois-Brulés,) le deposant qui étoit au fort a appris d'eux, que le Gouverneur Semple avoit été blessé premièrement par Cuthbert Grant, et qu'il avoit été tué par François Deschamps, engagé au service de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.

Le 22 Juin, 1816, Cuthbert Grant chassa les colons et les envoya à la Rivière au Brochet, et s'empara du fort et de tous les effets.

Il y eut ce jour-là une assemblée où les Bois-Brulés demandèrent à Monsieur M'Kenzie, si Lord Selkirk avoit droit d'établir des colons à la Rivière Rouge; Monsieur

M'Kenzie repondit qu'il n'en n'avoit aucun droit; que toutes ces terres appartenoient aux Bois-Brulés; et Lord Selkirk pouvoit, comme la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, y envoyer des traiteurs; mais n'avoit aucun droit de s'emparer de ces terres.

Le deposant ajoute qu' aussitôt après l'arrivé du dit Monsieur M'Kenzie, les traiteurs de la Compagnie d'Hudson furent aussi chassé de la Rivière Rouge.

(Signed) LOUIS NOLIN.

Sworn at Fort William, on Lake Superior, on the 21st day of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

That at the end of summer, in the year 1815, he (Louis Nolin) arrived at the Red River with Mr. Robertson;—that, two days after their arrival, a consultation was held in the fort of the North-West Company, occupied by Duncan Cameron, between Cameron, his clerks and interpreters, to find the means of driving away at one blow, the settlers who were returning to establish themselves there.—The deponent was not present, but Peter Pangman, called Bostonois, related to him some months afterwards, that he, Bostonois, had observed to the others, that it would, no doubt, be more easy to drive away the settlers immediately; but he did not know what excuse they could make use of at that moment,—and that, for this reason, they determined to wait till they could find some pretext, still hoping that the settlers would be compelled to quit the country for want of provisions.

The deponent adds, that in the month of October 1815, two Indians returning from the fort occupied by Duncan Cameron, said to him, the deponent, that Charles Hesse had threatened to destroy them, if they had any more communication with the English colony.

The deponent informs, that in the course of last winter, Seraphim Lamar told him, that he had received a letter from Alexander Fraser (stationed at the River Qu'Appelle) in which he advised him not to lose courage; that he, Fraser, was one of five who could raise the Bois-Brulés, to go and exterminate the English who might be found at Red River in the spring.

The deponent declares, that on the morning of the 17th of June, 1816, Governor Semple had him called to serve as interpreter to two Indians named Moustouche and Courte Aureille, who had quitted the camp of the Bois-Brulés, which was commanded by Alexander M'Donell. These two deserters informed the Governor, that he was to be attacked in two days by the

Bois-Brulés, who were commanded by Cuthbert Grant, Hoole, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe, and Thomas M'Kay, all employed in the service of the North-West Company.—That they were all determined to take the fort; and if any one opposed them, they would kill men, women, and children; and if they could catch Mr. Robertson, they would cut him into a thousand pieces.

The deponent further informs, that on the 19th of June, in the afternoon, he saw about fifty of the Bois-Brulés or Metifs arrive, who advanced near the houses of the English, who occupied the height of the Frog Plain, a place about a league from the English fort.—The deponent was in front of the fort, and he saw Governor Semple come out with twenty-eight men.—The deponent stepped up on a bastion, from whence he saw the governor arrange his men in a line. He (the deponent) sent a man on horseback to observe what might happen. That soon after, the deponent saw Mr. Bourke arrive at the fort, who came there for a piece of cannon, by order of Governor Semple. The deponent's messenger returned soon after, and informed him, that there was a great number of Metifs who had surrounded the governor, on which the deponent sent his man back again for information. In a few minutes the man returned, and announced, that five of the English gentlemen, and the governor had been killed, as well as several of their men, while the Metifs had only lost one. Mr. Bourke returned to the fort wounded.

On the 20th of June, the deponent went to the camp of the Bois-Brulés, at the Frog Plain. He there observed in the enemy's camp two men and a woman who belonged to the colony, who had been taken, before Governor Semple had met the Bois-Brulés.

The deponent entered into conversation with Cuthbert Grant, M'Kay, Hoole, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe;—that each of them boasted of their own particular exploits in the battle of the 19th of June with the English. Cuthbert Grant said, if they did not give up Fort Douglas to him the next day, he would kill men, women, and children.

On the 21st the English gave up Fort Douglas to the Metifs or Bois-Brulés. The deponent who was at the fort, learned from them, that Governor Semple had been first wounded by Cuthbert Grant, and that he had been killed by Francis Deschamps, employed in the service of the North-West Company.

On the 22d of June, 1816, Cuthbert Grant drove out the settlers, and sent them to Jack River, and took possession of the fort, and all the effects.

That day there was held a meeting, at which the Bois-Brulés asked Mr. M'Kenzie, if Lord Selkirk had a right to establish settlers at the Red River. Mr. M'Kenzie replied, that he had no right whatever; that all these lands belonged to the Bois-Brulés; and Lord Selkirk, as well as the North-West Company, might send traders there; but he had no right to take possession of these lands.

The deponent adds, that immediately after the arrival of the said Mr. M'Kenzie, the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were also driven away from the Red River.

(Signed) LOUIS NOLIN.

Sworn at Fort William, on Lake Superior, the 21st day of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[Y.]

Deposition of Louis Blondeau.

BEFORE Thomas Earl Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace, in the western district of Upper Canada, and likewise in the Indian territories or part of America, appeared Louis Blondeau, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Que dans le cours d'l'hîver passé étant au Fort Cumberland sous les ordres de Jean Duncan Campbell, un des propriétaires de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, le dit Campbell a proposé à lui, Louis Blondeau, d'aller à la Rivière Rouge, pour defendre les intérêts de la dite Compagnie contre les colonistes. Que lui, Louis Blondeau, a repondu, qu'il ne desiroit point se mêler de mauvaises affaires contre la loi; que le dit Campbell a repliqué qu'il n'y avoit point de danger, que la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest le protégeroit comme elle avoit toujours protégé ceux qui avoient agi pour ses intérêts; qu'on avoit vu beaucoup de gens qui avoient faits de mauvais coups pour les servir, et que jamais on avoit vu aucun qui en avoit subi les peines de la loi.

Que ci-après dans le même hîver le dit Campbell a montré au dit Blondeau une lettre qu'il avoit reçu de Jean M'Donald, aussi propriétaire de la dite Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, résidant à la Rivière du Cygne, faisant invitation de la part de la Compagnie, à tous les Metifs et autres qui voudroient aller à la Rivière Rouge pour defendre les intérêts de la Compagnie, et que suivant cette invitation sept Metifs et un Canadien (dont un commis et les autres engagés au service de la dite Compagnie) sont partis du Fort Cumberland dans le mois d'Avril, pour se rendre à la Rivière Qu'Appelle. Que le dit Louis Blondeau a vu quelques-

uns d'eux en bas de la Rivière Winipique, qui lui ont raconté qu'ils avoient été dans la bataille du 19 Juin, dans laquelle ils avoient tué le Gouverneur Semple, et beaucoup des colonistes, qu'ils lui avoient montré le butin qu'ils avoient reçus pour leur recompence, qui avoient été tirés des effets pillé des magazins da la colonie, et qu'ils avoient raconté à lui, Louis Blondeau, que ces effets leur avoient été distribués par Monsieur Archibald Norman M'Leod, un des propriétaires de la dite Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.

Le dit Louis Blondeau declare aussi avoir entendu lire par le dit Jean Duncan Campbell une lettre qui lui avoit été addressée comme à tous les autres propriétaires de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest dans le mois de Fevrier ou de Mars par le Gouverneur Semple et par Monsieur Robertson, qui promettoient qu'ils ne mettroient aucun obstacle à la sortie des vivres de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, de la Rivière Rouge, pourvu que de l'autre part on laisseroit libre sortie au commerce de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, proposition que le dit Campbell a paru mépriser.

(Signed) LOUIS BLONDEAU.

Sworn at Kaministigoia, this
12th day of August, 1816.
before me;

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

That, in the course of last winter, he (Louis Blondeau) was at Fort Cumberland, under the orders of John Duncan Campbell, one of the proprietors of the North-West Company. The said Campbell proposed to him, Louis Blondeau, to go to the Red River, to defend the interests of the said Company against the settlers. That he, Louis Blondeau, replied, that he did not wish to meddle in such matters against the law;—that the said Campbell replied, there was no danger; that the North-West Company would protect him, as they had always protected those who had acted for their interests. That there were many people who had done such things to serve them, but no one had ever seen them suffer for it.

That afterwards, in the same winter, the said Campbell shewed to the said Blondeau, a letter he had received from John Macdonald, also a proprietor in the said North-West Company, residing at Swan River, giving an invitation on the part of the Company to all the Metifs and others who chose to go to the Red River, to defend the interests of the Company. And that, in consequence of this invitation, seven Metifs and one Canadian (of whom one was a clerk, and the others servants of the said

Company,) set out from Fort Cumberland, in the month of April, to go to the River Qui Appelle.—That the said Louis Blondeau saw some of them afterwards at the mouth of the River Winipic, who related to him that they had been in the battle of the 19th of June, in which they had killed Governor Semple and many of the settlers. That they shewed him the booty they had received as their reward, which had been given out of the effects pillaged from the stores of the colony; and that they told him, Louis Blondeau, that these effects had been distributed to them by Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod, one of the proprietors of the said North-West Company.

The said Louis Blondeau also declares, that he heard the said Duncan Campbell read a letter which had been addressed to him, as well as to all the other proprietors of the North-West Company, in the month of February or March, by Governor Semple and Mr. Robertson, who promised that they would put no obstacle to the carrying out the North-West Company's provisions by the Red River, provided the other party would allow free passage to the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company—a proposal which the said Campbell appeared to treat with contempt.

(Signed) LOUIS BLONDEAU.

Sworn at Kaministigoia, this 12th day of August, 1816, before me,

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[Z.]

Deposition of Joseph Brisbois.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared Joseph Brisbois, guide in the service of the North-West Company, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'il étoit avec Monsieur Cuthbert Grant, quand il a pris les bateaux de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui descendoient la Rivière Qu' Appelle, dans lesquels il y avoit plusieurs paquets de peltrie appartenant à la dite Compagnie d'Hudson. Le deposant declare de plus qu'à son arrivé au fort des Anglois bâti sur la Rivière aux Souris (qui étoit déjà occupé par les Bois-Brulés alors) étant campé devant le fort mentioné, le deposant en vit sortir des paquets qui étoient transportés par les Brulés, et qui les posèrent dans les bateaux de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest; qu'ensuite

ils traversèrent la Rivière du côté où la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest a un établissement.

Le deposant declare que depuis la Rivière Rouge il y avoit huit canôts en sa charge pour les conduire au Fort William, qu'en dechargeant ces canôts il reconnut des paquets appartenant à la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui furent mis dans un des hangards du fort par les engagés de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: qu'ensuite Messrs. Kennedy et Harrison qui étoient presens pour les recevoir, les pesèrent et firent arranger les paquets en question en ligne. Après que les peltries furent detachées et pesées, Monsieur Alexandre McKenzie entra dans l'hangard, et ordonna à ses gens d'attacher chaque paquet au milieu, pour qu'on peut les transporter dans un autre hangard où le deposant, Joseph Brisbois, conduisit les engagés pour leur montrer la place qui étoit assignée pour placer les paquets en question.

Le deposant croit qu'il est de son devoir de dire que le nombre des paquets appartenant à la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui ont été transporté de la Rivière des Souris, et Qu' Appelle, dans les hangards du Fort William, peut se monter à quarante paquets.

Le deposant croit qu'il s'est écoulé à peu près deux ou trois semaines depuis qu'il est de retour de son voyage.

Sa
(Signé) JOSEPH + BRISBOIS.
Marque.

Sworn at Fort William, the 19th day of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

THAT he (Joseph Brisbois) was with Mr. Cuthbert Grant, when he took the boats of the Hudson's Bay Company coming down the River Qui Appelle, in which there were several packages of peltry, belonging to the said Hudson's Bay Company. The deponent further declares, that, on his arrival at the English fort on Mouse River, (which was then occupied by the Bois-Brulés) being encamped before the said fort, he saw packages brought out of it, which were carried by the Brulés, who placed them in the boats of the North-West Company. That afterwards they crossed the river to the side where the North-West Company have an establishment.

The deponent declares, that he had charge of eight canoes from the Red River to Fort William.—That, on unloading these canoes, he recognized packages belonging to the Hudson's Bay

Company, which were put into one of the store-houses of the fort by the servants of the North-West Company. That afterwards Messrs. Kennedy and Harrison, who were present to receive them, weighed them, and arranged them in a row. After the furs were opened out and weighed, Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie entered the shed, and ordered his people to tie each package in the middle, that they might be carried into another store-house, to which the deponent, Joseph Brisbois conducted the servants to shew them the place appointed for the packages in question.

The deponent thinks it is his duty to say, that the number of packages belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which were brought down from Mouse River, and Qui Appelle, might amount to forty packages.

The deponent thinks, that about two or three weeks have passed since he returned from his voyage.

His
(Signed) JOSEPH + BRISBOIS.
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, the 19th day of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[A. A.]

Deposition of C. G. Bruce.

Before Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's Justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared Charles Gaspard Bruce, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'il partit de Montreal pour se rendre à la Rivière Rouge avec Monsieur Miles M'Donell, et pour lui servir d'interprète pour la langue Sautoux; que le 24 Juin, ils rencontrèrent au Lac de la Pluie plusieurs sauvages de cette nation, qui dirent au deposant que Monsieur M'Leod et Monsieur Alexandre M'Kenzie avoient fait assemblée tous les sauvages des environs, pour leur proposer de les suivre à la Rivière Rouge pour y delivrer Monsieur Duncan Cameron, qui y étoit detenu prisonnier par les Anglois de la Baie d'Hudson, et que si les Anglois ne vouloient pas le leur rendre, ils prenderoient Monsieur Cameron de force, et que tout ce qui se trouveroit dans le fort seroit donné à eux (sauvages) pour les recompenser de leur peine. Les sauvages qui racontèrent ces faits s'appelloient Oniegakuet, Shabiné,

et son fils.—Ces sauvages dirent qu'ils n'avoient pas voulu suivre Messieurs M'Leod et M'Kenzie, mais que vingt-un Sautoux les avoient suivis, quelques-uns dans leurs propres canôts, et les autres dans les canôts de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest. Ce recit fut confirmé par les relations d'autres sauvages de la même bande.

Le jour suivant Monsieur M'Donell et le deposant rencontrèrent une autre bande des Sautoux, qui dirent de plus que le docteur M'Laughlin avoit passé deux jours auparavant, et avoit aussi cherché à avoir des sauvages pour l'accompagner à la Rivière Rouge, que cinq Sautoux acceptèrent ses propositions, et qu'ils étoient partis pour aller joindre Messieurs M'Leod, M'Kenzie, et Leith, et beaucoup d'autres bourgeois de la Compagnie qui se rassembloient à la Rivière Rouge.

His
(Signed) CHARLES G. + BRUCE.
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, on the
23rd of August, 1816.
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

THAT he (C. G. Bruce) left Montreal to go to Red River with Mr. Miles M'Donell, to serve as an interpreter for the Sautoux language; that on the 24th day of June, at Lac la Pluie, they met several Indians of that nation, who told the deponent that Mr. M'Leod and Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie had called together all the Indians of the neighbourhood, to propose that they should go along with them to Red River, in order to release Mr. Duncan Cameron, who was detained there prisoner by the English of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that if the English would not give him up they would take Mr. Cameron by force, and that whatever might be found in the fort should be given to the Indians as a recompence for their trouble. The Indians who told this were Oniegakuet, Shabiné, and his son. These Indians mentioned that they themselves refused to follow Messrs. M'Leod and M'Kenzie, but that twenty-one Sautoux had accompanied them, some in their own canoes, and the rest in the canoes of the North-West Company. This statement was confirmed by other Indians of the same band.

The following day Mr. M'Donell and the deponent met another band of the Sautoux, who told them, that Dr. M'Laughlin had also passed two days before, and had likewise tried to prevail on some Indians to accompany him to Red River. That five Sautoux accepted his proposals, and that they set out to join

Messrs. M'Leod, M'Kenzie, and Leith, and many other partners of the Company, who were assembling at the Red River.

His
CHARLES G. + BRUCE.
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, on the 23rd of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[B. B.]

Deposition of John Bourke.

Montreal, } *to wit.* } JOHN BOURKE, late of Fort Douglas, at Red River, in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, in North America, now at the city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, gentleman, maketh oath, that he went out in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company to Hudson's Bay, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and remained at York Factory till the following year, when he went to the settlement, formed by the Earl of Selkirk, at Red River aforesaid, and acted there as a store-keeper to the colony. That in the latter end of the winter, and in the spring of the present year, information was received at Fort Douglas aforesaid, from Indians and Canadians, that the North-West Company were collecting Indians of the half-breed, as they are called, that is, the bastard-children of the partners and servants of that Company, by Indian women, from their different trading posts, and were forming them into a body at their trading post, called Fort *Qui Appelle*, for the purpose of attacking and destroying the said settlement at Red River. The said Fort *Qui Appelle* was then under the charge of Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, assisted by one Cuthbert Grant, and one Fraser, both of them Indians of the said half-breed, and clerks in the service of that Company. The information of this intended attack was conveyed by different persons, and was received in such manner, that no doubt was entertained of its truth. An almost constant watch was, therefore, kept up, night and day, to discover the approach of any of the parties of the North-West Company. On the nineteenth day of June last, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a man in the watch-house at Fort Douglas aforesaid, called out to Governor Semple, that a party of horsemen

were approaching the said settlement. The deponent was then with the said governor, and observed a number of men on horseback at the distance of about half a mile from the fort. The deponent, with others, went into the watch-house, for the purpose of viewing the said party of horsemen, with a spy-glass, and they then distinctly perceived that the said party consisted of sixty or seventy men on horse-back, all of them armed, and approaching the settlement in a hostile manner. The said governor having viewed the approach of these men, who appeared to direct their course towards the settlement below the fort, desired twenty men to follow him, for the purpose of ascertaining what was their object; and upwards of that number, among whom the deponent was, immediately collected and went with him out of the fort. When the governor and his party had advanced about half a mile, they were met by some of the settlers, who, alarmed and terrified, were running to the fort for protection, and saying, that the people of the North-West Company were coming with carts and cannon. The governor, apprehending that the settlement was about to be attacked, desired the deponent to go back to the fort for a piece of cannon which was there, and to desire Mr. Sheriff M'Donell, then deputy-governor at the fort, to send with it any men he could spare. The deponent accordingly returned to the fort and delivered the said message, but Mr. M'Donell would only allow one man to accompany him, and with this man the deponent set out from the fort with the cannon in a cart. They had advanced the distance of about half a mile from the fort, when they saw that the party of horsemen had surrounded the governor, and they distinguished the flashes from the guns which were firing. The deponent fearing lest he should be intercepted with the cannon, thought it prudent to convey it back to the fort, and accompanied it part of the way himself, and then sent it forward by the man who was with him, at the same time the deponent was joined by about ten men from the fort, who proceeded with him towards the place where they expected to find the governor. Upon advancing further, they observed that the horsemen, by whom the governor and his party had been surrounded, had dispersed, and were scattered over the ground, but did not see the governor or any of his party. The deponent hesitated to go forward, when some of the hostile party cried out to the deponent in English, "Come on, come on, here "is the governor, won't you come and obey him?" The deponent advanced a little further, when the same persons cried out, "Give up your arms." Apprehending that the

governor and his party had been destroyed, and believing it was the wish of the murderers to get him, the deponent, also into their hands, the deponent turned back with the ten men who were with him, and they made all haste to escape: in their flight, the deponent received a shot in his right thigh, and Duncan M'Naughton, one of the ten men, was killed. About an hour after the deponent reached the fort, he heard, from persons who had escaped from the massacre, that Governor Semple and the persons with him, excepting four or five, had been murdered by the said party of horsemen, which was composed of clerks and servants of the North-West Company, headed by Cuthbert Grant above-named. The next day the said Cuthbert Grant and the said Fraser, both of them clerks in the service of the North-West Company as aforesaid, with about sixteen or seventeen of their associates in the murders of the preceding day, came to Fort Douglas, and threatening every body in the fort and settlement with immediate death, if their orders were not complied with, insisted on the immediate abandonment of the fort and of the settlement, and that property of every kind should be delivered up to them. After some conversation and entreaty, their terms were so far modified, that it was determined that the property of private individuals should be respected, but that every thing that belonged to the Earl of Selkirk and the colony generally, should be the spoil of the plunderers.—A writing, purporting to be a capitulation, was drawn up to this effect, between Mr. Sheriff M'Donell, having charge of Fort Douglas, and the said Cuthbert Grant, which was signed by the latter as clerk to the North-West Company. Notwithstanding the assurance given, that private property should not be violated, almost every thing which the settlers and servants of the colony possessed, became the spoil of these servants of the North-West Company, and was taken by force. While the settlers were preparing for their departure, some conversation too place between the said Cuthbert Grant and the deponent, in which the said Grant said, that if he could have got hold of Mr. Colin Robertson (the agent for Lord Selkirk, by whom the colony had been re-established,) he would have got him scalped.—The second day after the massacre, the deponent saw, in the Government House, one François Fermin Boucher, a Canadian, the son of a tavern keeper at Montreal, then in the service of the North-West Company, who was armed, and acted under the orders of the said Cuthbert Grant, by whom he was employed to conduct away the colonists as far as the Frog Plains. The deponent was well acquainted with the said Cuthbert Grant

as well as with the said Fraser, having become acquainted with them as clerks of the North-West Company, and been frequently with them. They were generally stationed as clerks at Fort *Qui Appelle;* they are natural children of the partners in the North-West Company, and have been educated in Lower Canada, where they received as good an education as young men intended for mercantile business generally do. In the hurry and confusion which succeeded the massacre, the deponent could get no assistance for his wound, and it was not till two days after, that two Indians were kind enough to dress it. When the attack was made on Governor Semple, as above-mentioned, there was an encampment of Sautoux and Cree Indians opposite to Fort Douglas. These Indians took no part whatever in the hostility which had been evinced against the colony, nor in any of the atrocities which were perpetrated for its destruction. On the contrary, they lamented the fate of Governor Semple, and those murdered with him, hardly less than the colonists thmselves, and were anxious to shew their good disposition towards the colony, by every act of kindness in their power. They assisted in bringing some of the dead bodies of those who had been murdered to Fort Douglas, and in burying them; their conduct, in this respect, corresponded with that of all the Indian tribes with whom the colonists had any intercourse from the first establishment of the colony to its destruction, as above-mentioned. All these tribes were invariably kind towards the colony, and seemed well pleased at its establishment. The troubles and disasters which were experienced by the colony, were occasioned by the jealousy and hostility of the North-West Company, and no person on the spot doubted that the atrocities which were committed there were the effect of this hostility, and the work of the agents and servants of that Company, under its sanction. The settlers and servants of the colony, to the number of about two hundred souls, were conveyed away from the colony in eight boats; and on the second day after their departure they met Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod, one of the partners in the North-West Company, and a justice of the peace for the Indian territories, with nine or ten canoes, and one batteau, in which were two pieces of artillery belonging to Lord Selkirk, which had been stolen the year before from the colony; and his men were, some of them, armed with muskets which had been stolen at the same time. The number of men with said M'Leod was about one hundred, all of them armed, and among them were a number of the half-breeds, and he was accompanied by Alexander M'Kenzie, James Leith, John

M'Donald, Hugh M'Gillis, John Duncan Campbell, John Haldane, James Hughes, and Thomas M'Murray, partners in the North-West Company. Upon the approach of the said canoes to the boats in which the settlers were, the war-hoop was set up, and inquiries, in the most insulting manner and abusive language were made, whether Mr. Robertson and Governor Semple were in the boats. After these inquiries, the said M'Leod ordered the settlers ashore, and caused a general search to be made, in their trunks, boxes, and effects, and took out of them all the books and papers which could be found, and among these, some books and papers which had belonged to Governor Semple. After this search was made, the said M'Leod caused the said boats to go to a place called Netley Creek, about one or two miles further down Red River, where he made prisoners, Michael Heden, Patrick Corcoran, Daniel M'Kay, John Pritchard, and the deponent, who were in the boats of the colonists. A general encampment was made at this place, and while the people were so encamped, a part of the persons so engaged in the massacre of Governor Semple, and the persons with him, came thither from Fort Douglas, and among these were the said Fraser, and one Bourrassa, also a clerk in the service of the North-West Company. The deponent could not see in what manner they were received, being confined to his tent, but heard at the time that they were received with open arms by the said M'Leod, and treated with every thing he could give them. The deponent and his fellow-prisoners were afterwards placed by the said M'Leod, under the guard of these murderers, and even detained some days at the same place, till the said M'Leod went to Fort Douglas to make some arrangements, and then returned. Upon his return, the said M'Leod sent the deponent and his fellow-prisoners to Point au Foutre, and some days after arrived there himself, bringing with him the wall-pieces, and the deponent believes also the artillery and muskets of the colony, which, after the massacre, had fallen into the hands of Cuthbert Grant and his party. He them took charge of the whole party, and came with them to a trading post of the North-West Company, called Fort William. The morning of their departure, the deponent was put in irons, and all his clothes were taken from him, together with his watch, and a pocket case of mathematical instruments; and in this situation he was placed on the top of the baggage, in the canoe, without any attention being paid to his wound, and was conveyed to Fort William. After his arrival there, he was put in confinement in a place that had been used as a privy, into

which light was not admitted, except through crevices between the logs, of which the building was constructed, and in which an intolerable stench prevailed. In this place the deponent was confined twenty days, at the expiration of which time he was sent to Montreal.—The deponent further saith, that on their way to Fort William, when within a few days journey of Lac à la Pluie, the deponent slept near the tent of one Campbell, a partner in the North-West Company, when several of the partners in the same Company, *viz.* Alexander M'Donell, Hugh M'Gillis, and others were standing at a fire near where the deponent lay, and engaged in conversation; the deponent over-heard part of their conversation, in which the said Alexander M'Donell said, "The sending down of the half-breeds was certainly "carrying things to an extremity." And he afterwards said (as if by way of accounting for what had happened,) "but it can be said that those people" (meaning Governor Semple and the persons with him) "went out to attack "them" (meaning the half-breeds,) "and met their fate." The said Alexander M'Donell asked the said M'Gillis (who had come up with the said M'Leod,) what his plan for the destruction of the settlement at Red River had been; the said M'Gillis answered that his plan was to attack the fort (meaning Fort Douglas), immediately, to which the said Alexander M'Donell replied, "If you had, they would have "killed one half of you." The said M'Gillis then asked the said Alexander M'Donell what had been his plan, to which the said Alexander M'Donell answered, it was to starve the fort (meaning Fort Douglas), as they, (meaning the persons in the fort) had only four bags of pemican. The conversation between the said persons afterwards turned upon Lord Selkirk's intention to visit Red River by the way of Fond du Lac, when the said Alexander M'Donell said, "The half-breeds will take him while he is asleep, early "in the morning." And he afterwards said, "They," (meaning, as the deponent understood, the North-West Company,) "can get Bostonois," (meaning an Indian of the half-breed, well known for his crimes,) "to shoot him." In the course of the same conversation, the deponent heard the word "*stab*" used, but cannot say with reference to whom. The next morning the deponent told what he had heard to the said Patrick Corcoran, and afterwards mentioned it to Michael Heden, both of them his fellow-prisoners.

(Signed) JOHN BOURKE.

Sworn at Montreal, 16th day of September, 1816, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J.P.

[C. C.]

Deposition of Michael Heden.

Montreal, } *to wit,* } MICHAEL HEDEN, late of Fort Douglas at Red River, in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, in North America, now at the city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, blacksmith, maketh oath, that he was engaged on the first day of June one thousand eight hundred and twelve, to serve the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, as a blacksmith, and in that year went to Hudson's Bay, where he remained till the following year, when he went to the settlement formed by the Earl of Selkirk at Red River aforesaid, and remained there until the said settlement was broken up and destroyed by the agents and servants of the North-West Company, in the summer of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and in the autumn of the same year, returned with new supplies, and another body of settlers to Red River aforesaid. That in the latter end of the winter, and in the spring of the present year, information was received at Fort Douglas aforesaid, from Indians and Canadians, that the North-West Company were collecting Indians of the half-breed, being the bastard children of the partners and servants of that company by Indian women, from their different trading posts, and were forming them into a body at their trading post called Fort *Qui Appelle*, which was then under the charge of Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, assisted by one Grant and one Fraser, both of them Indians of the said half-breed, and clerks in the service of the said Company, for the purpose of attacking and destroying, a second time, the settlement at Red River aforesaid; and this information was received through so many channels as to leave no doubt of its truth; an almost constant watch was, therefore, kept up, night and day, to discover the approach of any of the parties of the North-West Company.—On the nineteenth day of June, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a man in the watch-house called out to Governor Semple, that a party of horsemen were approaching the said settlement. The governor then went into the watch-house, in order to observe them with a spy-glass, and two persons, Mr. Rogers, a gentleman from England, and Mr. Bourke, a store-keeper in the service of the colony, accompanied him, who also examined the party with a spy-glass.—It was then distinctly perceived by all that a party of horsemen, armed, were approaching the

settlement in a hostile manner, and in consequence, Governor Semple desired twenty of his men to follow him towards the horsemen to ascertain what was their object. This hostile party passed Fort Douglas, and entered the settlement below it, for the purpose, it would appear, of making the settlers prisoners, and they had already taken some of them, when observing the approach of Governor Semple and his men, they immediately gallopped towards them, and surrounded the governor and his party. They then sent forward one of their number to speak with Governor Semple, and one Boucher, the person selected for the purpose, a Canadian, the son of a tavern keeper at Montreal, who was then a clerk or *engagé*, in the service of the North-West Company, advanced in front of his party, and rode up to Governor Semple.

When he came up to the governor, he desired, in an insolent tone, to know what he was about. The governor desired to know what he, the said Boucher, and his party wanted. The said Boucher said he wanted his fort. The governor desired him to go to his fort;—whereupon the said Boucher said, addressing himself to the said governor, "Why did you destroy our fort, you damned rascal?" the governor then laid hold of the bridle of the said Boucher's horse, saying, "Scoundrel, do you tell me so?"—When these words were uttered, the said Boucher jumped from his horse, and a shot was instantly fired by one of the party of horsemen, by which a person of the name of Holt, a clerk in the service of the colony, who accompanied the governor, and was then standing near him, was killed. The said Boucher then ran to his party, and another shot was fired from the same quarter, by which Governor Semple was wounded. When the said governor received his wound, he immediately cried out to his men, "Do what you can to "take care of yourselves;" but the persons who accompanied him, instead of seeking their own safety, crowded round the governor to ascertain what injury he had received, and while they were thus collected, in a small body in the centre, the party of horsemen, which had formed a circle around them, fired a general volley amongst them, by which the greater part were killed on the spot. The persons who remained standing, took off their hats and called for mercy, but in vain; the murderers gallopped upon them, and stabbed with spears, and shot, nearly all of them.—The deponent escaped in the confusion to the river side, and crossed the river in a canoe with one Daniel M'Kay, who had also the good fortune to escape, and they both reached the fort in the night.—One Michael Kilkenny, and George Suther-

land, also escaped at the same time by swimming over the river, and the lives of two other of the persons who had accompanied Governor Semple, namely, Anthony M'Donell, and John Pritchard, were spared at the intercession of some of the murderers, to whom they were known; all the others, twenty-two in number, were murdered on the spot, and among these were Mr. Rogers, Mr. Wilkinson, secretary to the governor, Mr. Holt, Mr. White, surgeon to the colony, and Mr. M'Lean, the principal settler in the colony. The persons by whom this atrocious massacre was perpetrated, were the bastard half-Indians above-mentioned, in the service of the North-West Company, and their Canadian servants, headed by two or three of their clerks; the whole party, between sixty and seventy in number, having been collected from various quarters at the aforesaid trading post, called *Qui Appelle*, and armed, equipped, and dispatched from that post under the orders of Alexander M'Donell above-named. Among the party, the deponent only saw three Indians, and he did not see any of these fire a shot, although he had his eyes upon them a principal part of the time. These three Indians, in the opinion of the deponent, must have been induced to accompany the party, from motives other than that of hostility towards the settlement or settlers, as the Indians of the different nations, inhabiting and frequenting the country at Red River, had always evinced the most friendly disposition towards the settlement, and lived on the best terms with the settlers. Before, and at the time of the massacre just mentioned, there was an encampment of Indians of the Sautoux and Cree nations, opposite to Fort Douglas:—these Indians not only took no part with the servants of the North-West Company in the perpetration of the massacre, but openly lamented it, and went out with carts to bring in the dead bodies, and assisted in burying those which they brought in, having been prevented by fear from bringing all of them. Those which they did not bring in remained on the ground, a prey for the wild beasts. This deponent afterwards saw many of the said Indians, men and women, wring their hands in distress and shed tears at the departure of the settlers. In the morning succeeding the massacre, the said Grant, a clerk as aforesaid, in the service of the said North-West Company, with one Fraser, and one Bourrassa, both clerks in the same service, with sixteen or seventeen men, (two or three of whom were Canadians, and the rest bastard half-Indians, also in the service of the said Company, being part of the persons by whom the murders of the preceding day had been committed,) came to Fort Douglas, after the manner of conquerors, and insisted upon the immediate aban-

donment of the fort and settlement. Although the surviving settlers were told that they might carry away all their private property, while that of Lord Selkirk only should be considered as prize, yet almost every thing belonging to the private families was in effect plundered. And this deponent was even robbed of his blankets and clothes. A written paper, of the nature of a capitulation, was drawn up between the said Grant and Mr. M'Donell, who had then the care of the settlement, and this paper, as the deponent was informed, and believes, was signed by the said Grant, as clerk to the North-West Company. Two days after, all the settlers, men, women, and children, to the number of two hundred souls, among whom the deponent was, were compelled by the same party to embark in boats, to be conveyed to the sea-coast. On their second day's journey towards Hudson's Bay, they were met by Archibald Norman M'Leod, Esq. a partner in the North-West Company, one of the house of M'Tavish, M'Gillivrays, and Co. and also a justice of the peace for the Indian territories, with nine or ten canoes, and a batteau, with two pieces of artillery which had been some time before stolen and carried away from Lord Selkirk's settlement at Red River, and having under his command ninety or one hundred men, all armed. When the party with the said M'Leod approached the boats in which the settlers were, they set up the Indian war-whoop, and the said M'Leod inquired whether the "Rascal and scoundrel "Robertson" (meaning a gentleman in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, by whom the settlement, after its destruction in the summer of one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, had been re-established,) was in the boats, and being told he was not, he then inquired whether Mr. Semple was in them, and was informed of his fate.—The said M'Leod afterwards compelled all the settlers to go ashore, and caused them to be detained there two days, although they had not provisions sufficient for a quarter part of their journey to Hudson's Bay, and during this detention caused their baggage to be searched, and every article they had to be examined. In this search the said settlers were plundered by the persons acting under the orders of the said M'Leod, of some trunks and papers which had belonged to Governor Semple, and some books of accounts belonging to the colony, which some of the said settlers had found means to carry off with them. The said M'Leod questioned the deponent as to the particulars of what had happened at Red River, and, after hearing them, said, "they are all lies," and that he would have the deponent taken to Fort William, and put in irons to make him tell the truth. He then put into the de-

ponent's hands a paper, purporting to be a subpœna, requiring the deponent to appear and give evidence against John Bourke, at Montreal, of which paper a copy is subjoined, and told the deponent that under that paper he would be conveyed a prisoner to Montreal. The said M'Leod, at the same time, made four other persons prisoners, *viz.* Daniel M'Kay, John Bourke, John Pritchard, and Patrick Corcoran, and suffered all the others to proceed on their journey to Hudson's Bay. While the boats, conveying the settlers, were detained as aforesaid, a part of the murderers, Canadians and half-Indians, who had been engaged in the massacre of Governor Semple and his party as aforesaid, and among the number the above named Fraser, came down from Fort Douglas to meet the said M'Leod, and were received by him with open arms, and treated with liquors. These murderers were immediately employed by the said M'Leod to guard the deponent and the others whom he had detained as prisoners, and to convey them as far as Point à Foutre, while the said M'Leod went further on, for the purpose, as this deponent believes, of visiting Fort Douglas aforesaid, and making arrangements there. That the deponent, and the other prisoners with him, remained two days at Point à Foutre, in the custody of the said murderers, among whom were one Baudry, and one De Lorme; and, at the expiration of that time, the said M'Leod arrived, and taking the command of the whole party, caused the deponent and his companions, some in irons, and some unfettered, to be conveyed to a trading post of the North-West Company, called Fort William. That the deponent heard John Bourke, one of the prisoners conveyed with him as aforesaid, relate some particulars of a conversation which took place between some partners in the North-West Company which he had overheard previous to their arrival at Fort William, while those engaged in the conversation thought him asleep. That by this conversation it appeared to this deponent that there was a settled design in those partners to destroy the Earl of Selkirk, who was then on his way to the late settlement at Red River, and had halted in the neighbourhood of Fort William, and learning that one Chatelain, who was employed in the service of Lord Selkirk, and going up with him, was then with his men, on an Island about seven miles from Fort William, this deponent became extremely anxious to convey to Lord Selkirk, through Chatelain, intelligence of his danger. The deponent, therefore, found means, during a storm, in a small canoe, and at great risk, to visit Chatelain, with whom he had some communication. That, previous to this visit, no warrant of commitment had been issued against the

deponent, but when it became known that he had had a communication with Chatelain, he was abused and ill-treated, and a warrant was made out against him by William M'Gillivray, Esq. the principal partner in the North-West Company, one of the house of M'Tavish, M'Gillivrays and Co. and a justice of the peace for the Indian territories, under which the deponent has been brought down and lodged in the gaol at Montreal, where he now is. That after the said warrant was signed by the said William M'Gillivray the deponent was confined in a small room, in which there was a privy, without a window, and into which no light was received, except through crevices between the logs composing the walls of the said building, and into this provisions were brought to him, and laid on the seat of the privy, to be used by him as a table. In this confinement the deponent was kept, in the hottest part of summer, during ten days, at the expiration of which time he was put into a canoe, to be conveyed to Montreal. That while the deponent was at Fort William aforesaid, he saw some of the murderers, who had come down with him, well received by partners in the North-West Company, who were then there.

(Signed) MICHAEL HEDEN.

Sworn at Montreal, 16th September, 1816, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.

Here follows a copy of the paper purporting to be a subpœna above referred to.

Indian Territory.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To Patrick Cockrane and Michael Heden,

We command you, and every of you, that all business being laid aside and all excuses ceasing, you do, in your proper persons, appear before the Justices of our Court of King's Bench, in and for the district of Montreal, assigned and appointed by an Act of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, to hear and determine, all crimes and offences committed in the said Indian Territories, at the Term of the said Court, to be holden in the City of Montreal, in the District of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, on the First Day of September next, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, to testify all and singular those things which you or any of you know concerning a certain accusation against J. P.

Bourke, for Felony: And this you and every of you are in no wise to omit, under the Penalty of One Hundred Pounds, Halifax currency, and all other Penalties by law inflicted for such neglect:—Witness Archibald Norman M'Leod, Esq. one of the justices assigned to keep the peace, &c. in and for the said Indian Territory. Given at Fort Alexander, the Ninth Day of July, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixteen, and in the Fifty-sixth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

(Signed) A. N. M'LEOD, J. P. J. T.

[D. D.]

Letter from Mr. Simon M'Gillivray, to the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Montreal, June 19th, 1815.

My Lord;

I am induced to take the liberty of addressing this letter to your Lordship, in consequence of a communication lately made by the Government of this province to my brother, relative to the Earl of Selkirk's settlers on the Red River, and the suspicions which his Lordship labours to excite against the North-West Company of instigating the Indians to hostile proceedings against them.

I beg leave to enclose to your Lordship a copy of the communication referred to, being a confidential letter from the Adjutant General written by order of Sir Gordon Drummond*, together with a copy of my brother's answer, and further, I beg leave to refer to the communication addressed to Mr. Goulbourne by Messrs. M'Tavish, Fraser, and Co. and Messrs. Inglis, Ellice, and Co. of London, on the 18th March last, in answer to the letter written by him to the North-West Company on the 2nd of that month.

I certainly entertained hopes that our statements in that communication, together with the verbal explanation which I had the honor to submit to your Lordship before I left London, would have removed from your Lordship's mind any impression unfavourable to the North-West Company, which might have been made by the Earl of Selkirk's imputations; and I still venture to hope that this is the case, for I am fully persuaded that without evidence to support such heavy accusations as Lord Selkirk does not scruple to bring against the North-West Company, your Lordship

* See the letter, page 57.

will not entertain them; and as I know these accusations to be utterly unfounded, and consequently that no evidence entitled to credit can be brought forward in support of them, I trust your Lordship is, or very shortly will be satisfied that the North-West Company have been most unjustly calumniated. The facts relative to Lord Selkirk's colony have already been sufficiently stated to your Lordship, and also the facts that in its infancy the settlers were preserved from actual starvation solely by the means of subsistence afforded by the North-West Company. This conduct so different to that imputed to the Company by Lord Selkirk, is, I conceive, of itself a sufficient refutation of his charges, and it certainly merited a very different return from what has been made: for I have to inform your Lordship that in addition to the calumnies which have been so industriously propagated against us in England, it has been attempted to use this colony as an engine for the injury of our trade in this country, and I presume it is in anticipation of the charges of violence and aggression which we have to bring against his Lorship's agents, it is now attempted to excite a prejudice against us, and to make the party who are really attacked and injured, appear to be the aggressors.

In the spring of 1814 Mr. M'Donell, Lord Selkirk's principal agent at the colony, and whose proclamation styling himself Governor of Ossiniboia has already been laid before your Lordship, did in virtue of this pretended authority, and with the assistance of the settlers, whose numbers had by successive importations, been greatly increased, forcibly seized and took possession of the provisions which had been collected during the preceding winter by the North-West Company's servants, and which provisions were as usual deposited at the mouth of the Red River, for the use of the people coming from the interior of the continent to our general rendezvous on the shore of Lake Superior; these provisions were indispensably requisite not merely for the transport of the Company's property, but for the subsistence of the persons employed therein, and the object of the seizure was evident, for if it had ultimately succeeded, the communication of the North-West Company with the interior must have been cut off, the consequence of which would have been most ruinous; for the people from the interior could not have brought out to Lake Superior their returns of furs, nor received their usual supplies for the ensuing winter: therefore they must in all probability have perished, or at all events they must have abandoned the property which was in their charge, and dispersed among the Indians in search of food. The persons in charge of these provi-

sions having no apprehensions of any violence, were in the first instance taken by surprise, and the principal seizure made before any idea of such an attempt was entertained, else it would have been their duty to defend their charge, and I hesitate not to say, to resist force by force, as much as it would have been the duty of any individual to defend his house or his person against a robber. They were however inferior in numbers to M'Donell's people, and they remained quiet until the arrival of the people from the interior, for whose subsistence the provisions had been collected; when this took place, the North-West Company's people far out-numbered the M'Donell's people, including the settlers and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, but they committed no act of violence or retaliation, they only stated that they must have their provisons, and that they had the means of taking them by force if necessary; Upon this occasion the Indians who had heard of the seizure of our provisions, came to the assistance of the traders, and I enclose to your Lordship a copy of the speech which their principal chief delivered from his tribe, and by which your Lordship will see that their assistance was refused. The North-West Company's people however only received a part of the provisions which had been seized, and they submitted to leave a part in M'Donell's possession, waving at the same time the right he assumed, and the necessary authority under which he presumed to act, to be investigated elsewhere, and the necessary legal measures for that purpose are in contemplation.

These facts, my Lord, do not rest upon vague assertions, or upon the authority of unknown correspondents, such as them quoted by Lord Selkirk in his letter to the Hudson's Bay Company,—they are substantiated by affidavits taken before the magistrates appointed under the act of parliament (43 Geo. III. cap. 138) for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of justice in this province to the Indian territories in the interior, and upon my return to England I hope to have the honor of laying before your Lordship copies of these affidavits duly authenticated, as well as other documents which may tend to throw light upon the subject.

In regard to Lord Selkirk's colony, I have always been of opinion that the attempt to establish it would ultimately lead to fatal quarrels between the Indians and settlers; and as an humble individual I used every endeavour in my power to disseminate this opinion among my countrymen in the highlands of Scotland, in order, if possible, to prevent them from being misled by his Lordship's illusive advertisements, one of which has already been laid before your Lordship.

My connections with the North-West Company gave me the means of obtaining correct information, and experience has only justified the opinion I was at first led to form; but it is surely unnecessary to point out to your Lordship the distinction between an opinion that the Indians would ultimately destroy the colony and an intention to instigate them to the massacre of my countrymen. The same opinion I still entertain, and it is strengthened by the violent and ignorant conduct of Lord Selkirk's agents. The massacre of my deceived countrymen on the Red River I consider an evil by no means improbable, but the idea of instigating so horrid a deed, I do for myself, and on behalf of my connections, most solemnly and indignantly deny.— And I hope we are too well known to render the denial necessary.

I trust your Lordship will pardon the freedom with which upon this occasion I have ventured to express myself. Imputations such as those which the Earl of Selkirk attempts to fasten upon the North-West Company, cannot but rouse the indignant feelings of any honorable man; and it is impossible to reply to such calumnious accusations in moderate terms: for Lord Selkirk's rank, the individuals comprising the North-West Company, entertain proper respect; but when he condescends to become their rival as a trader, they must endeavour to meet him or his agents on equal terms; and if instead of fair commercial emulation and enterprise, violence and calumny are employed against them, I trust the impartiality of his Majesty's Government, and the justice of their own cause, will always enable them to resist the one and refute the other.

In concluding I beg leave to mention one circumstance which may probably merit your Lordship's consideration. The settlers by proceeding up beyond the Forks of the Red River have got to the southward of the latitude of 49°, so that if the line *due west* from the Lake of the Woods is to be the boundary with the United States of America, and if, contrary to my expectation, Lord Selkirk's colony should continue to flourish, it will not be a British, but an American settlement, unless specially excepted in the adjustment of the boundary.

I have the honor to be,
With high respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
And most humble Servant,
(Signed) SIMON M'GILLIVRAY.

To the Right Hon. Earl Bathurst.

[E. E.]

Deposition of John Charles Sayer.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices, assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, and also in the Indian territories and parts of America not within the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, appeared John Charles Sayer, clerk and interpreter in the service of the North-West Company, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth,

That he was stationed at the fort, or trading-post of Lake la Pluie, last June, under the command of Mr. Leith, where Mr. A. N. M'Leod arrived from Montreal along with several other partners of the North-West Company, on their way to Red River. That at the time of their arrival a number of Indians were collected near the post for the purposes of trade, as usual at that season of the year, including not only the Indians of the department itself, but also others from Round Lake, and Red Cedar Lake, who usually trade with the post of Fond du Lac. That in the course of the next day after Mr. M'Leod's arrival, the deponent was instructed to speak privately to one of the most considerable of these Indians, called the Round Lake Chief, and to learn whether he was disposed to go with Mr. M'Leod and the other gentlemen to Red River, to assist there in defending the rights of the North-West Company. That accordingly he did converse with this chief, and ascertained that he was disposed to follow them. That in the afternoon of the same day all the Indians about the place were invited to a council in the great hall of the fort, at which were present Messrs. Alexander M'Kenzie, Robert Henry, M'Murray, and Leith, partners of the North-West Company, and Mr. Charles Grant, a clerk, as also Messrs. Misani and Brumby, officers of De Meuron's Regiment, who had arrived in company with Mr. M'Leod. That the deponent was instructed to prepare three kegs of liquor, with a proportional quantity of tobacco for the Indians, and that when these were ready and placed before them, he was instructed by Mr. M'Leod to make a speech to the Indians, telling them that these gentlemen present were going to Red River to try to recover their fort, and to rescue Mr. Cameron, and would be glad if the Indians would follow them, adding that they did not go as fighting characters, but they were told that guns were placed to prevent them from passing, and that if they were attacked they would defend themselves, also that they had expressed

a wish to have some of the King's officers to accompany them, and that Government had accordingly granted them the two officers who were present, upon which the said Round Lake chief answered in the name of the rest of the Indians, expressing their attachment to the traders of the North-West Company, and that they were ready to go wherever they desired them, and accordingly the next day the said chief, with sixteen or twenty other Indians, set out with Mr. M'Leod for Red River. The deponent observed, that the expressions which he was instructed to use in the speech were such as the Indians would certainly understand as implying an instruction to go to war against the opponents of the North-West Company.

The deponent further declares, that some weeks after this he was present when a Canadian of the name of Vincent Roy delivered to Mr. Daniel M'Kenzie a letter directed to the Earl of Selkirk, which had been entrusted to him by Miles M'Donell, Esq. and that he saw Mr. M'Kenzie inclose this letter unopened to the agent of the North-West Company at Fort William.

(Signed) JOHN CHARLES SAYER.

Sworn before me, at Fort William,
on the 8th of November, 1816,

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[F. F.]

Affidavit by George Campbell.

(Printed from the Copy in Appendix, No. VII. of "A Narrative of Occurrences," &c.)

George Campbell, late of Scotland, in the parish of Creich, and county of Sutherland, deposeth, That in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, hearing that Lord Selkirk was establishing a colony in the North-West Country of Canada, and understanding that William M'Donald, one of Lord Selkirk's agents, had arrived at Brora, (a small village in the county of Sutherland), for the purpose of engaging individuals to settle in said North-West country of Canada, went to inquire into the particulars of the agreement.

That on his arrival at said village of Brora, he went to the lodgings of William M'Donald, and after breaking the subject to him, was informed by said William M'Donald, that on his arrival at Red River, in said North-West country of

Canada, upon paying the sum of five shillings sterling per acre, he would be put in immediate possession of as much land as he should require.

That any one of the settlers who could not pay the stated sum of five shillings sterling per acre, would be furnished with the like quantity for the rent of one bushel of wheat per acre per annum, or until payment at the rate aforesaid should be made.

That upon being put in possession of said land, he was to receive all implements of husbandry, live stock, &c. necessary to equip a husbandman, without exception.

That upon being thus informed, he took his leave of said William M'Donald, (without giving him any decisive answer), and returned to his home in the parish and county aforesaid, where he was in about a week after visited by said William M'Donald.

That upon conversing some time with him, he signed a paper, to which were prefixed the names of those already engaged.

That upon signing this paper, he conceives, but cannot assert it as a fact, that he paid said William M'Donald two shillings sterling, but is positive that others who signed it, actually did pay two shillings sterling*.

That William M'Donald having collected a few signatures, he took his departure and returned to Brora, previously telling him (this deponent) that he would be apprized of his Lordship's arrival in Scotland.

That some time after these transactions, (he cannot be exact to the period), he was informed that Lord Selkirk had arrived in Sutherlandshire, and with a view to meet his Lordship, went to Helmsdale, parish of Loth, and county of Sutherland.

That on his way to said village, he met his Lordship and agent, Mr. M'Lellan, near a public-house, on their way to Donald M'Kay's, in the parish of Kleyne, county aforesaid.

That his Lordship having opened the door of his carriage, spoke to him (this deponent) on the subject of the agreement he had formed with William M'Donald: his Lordship desired him to accompany them to Donald M'Kay's in the parish of Kleyne.

That in their route they stopt at Mr. Ross's dwelling-

* The absurdity of this Deponent, saying he *conceives*, but *won't assert it as a fact*, that he gave a couple of shillings to another person, and at the same time, takes it upon himself *positively to assert* that others did pay their two shillings, is too glaring! Had it been the reverse, one might have believed him.

house, where, leaving the coach, his Lordship proceeded on horseback.

That, on their arrival at Donald M'Kay's, they found a number of persons there on business of the same nature.

That his Lordship, having dined, convened those who were present, corroborating in every respect the proposals of Mr. William M'Donald, and shaking hands very cordially with almost all those who were assembled.

That he (this deponent) remained at Donald M'Kay's about three hours, when his Lordship desired him to go, and prepare himself for the voyage, giving him twenty days to arrange his affairs; which he did, telling his Lordship that he would return to Helmsdale at the time appointed.

That having settled his family concerns, &c. he returned to Helmsdale, and there learned that his Lordship had gone to Stromness.

That having staid two days at Helmsdale, he, in company with William M'Donald, (who had lodged with him during their stay at Helmsdale), proceeded to Stromness in a schooner, where they arrived in two days from the time of their embarkation.

That in Stromness he hired lodgings, and William M'Donald lodged with him; that he saw his Lordship here (Stromness), and paid into his hands the sum of thirty guineas, for his wife and child's passage, also his own; for which payment he received a note from his Lordship, and which he has now in possession.

That he also deposited in his Lordship's hands the sum of forty-two pounds sterling, (for which he also received his Lordship's note), as payment of a tract of land; his Lordship at the same time telling, that should he not like the land, he had his (Lord Selkirk's) full permission to go elsewhere.

That he remained fourteen days at Stromness, (during which time no conversation of importance passed between his Lordship and him), when he and others, under the same circumstances, embarked on board the Prince of Wales (merchant ship).

That his Lordship came on board the Prince of Wales, and told him and others, that it would be necessary for some of them to keep watch in their turn, to prevent sickness, which might occur from being crowded below.

That, previous to his leaving Stromness, his Lordship had told him to carry a gun with him, as he would require one to defend himself from any attack made by his enemies.

That he cannot state the time when the Prince of Wales

left Stromness; but states, that said ship arrived at Churchill Cove in the season autumn eighteen hundred and thirteen.

That on his landing at the Cove, he was very ill provided for, being under the necessity of laying under old sails, and his provisions at the same time exceedingly bad; and he firmly believes it to be the effect of ill treatment, that a number of the colonists died.

That his Lordship had desired him (this deponent) to bring neither money, clothes, or any other articles necessary, for that he could procure them as cheap at Red River as in Sutherlandshire.

That on his arrival at Churchill, he found that nothing could be purchased but with ready cash, and at so great a price that he was surprised; he having paid for one pound of tobacco, five shillings and sixpence sterling.

That, instead of the allowance of English provisions, such as labouring men are accustomed to receive in Great Britain, and which Lord Selkirk had said should be allowed him, Mr. Archibald M'Donald, one of his Lordship's agents, who was present at the time when this promise was made, issued one pound of oatmeal and half a partridge per day, to each man, (with the same allowance for a woman and two children), together with eight pounds molasses, and eight pounds damaged pease, for every mess of twelve men per week*.

That upon demonstrating to Archibald M'Donald, that such was not the kind of provisions promised by his Lordship in his (Archibald M'Donald's) presence, Archibald M'Donald answered him, that he ought to be content with what he got, as it was good enough for him. The deponent also states that the English provisions which had accompanied them, were taken from them (the colonists), and issued to the Hudson's Bay Company's servants; and states that, to procure the scanty pittance of half a partridge per day, they were under the necessity of travelling fifteen miles, to draw it on sleighs; that if they (the colonists) refused to comply, their provisions were immediately stopt.

That on his route from Churchill to Red River, they laboured in the same manner as the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and without recompence.

That on their (the colonists') arrival at Red River, one

* The settlers (among whom was George Campbell) while unavoidably detained at Churchill, where they certainly experienced considerable privations, had, however, an allowance of good and wholesome food, pease, pearl-barley, oatmeal, molasses, partridge, beef or pork, of nearly two pounds per day for each person, including women and children.

hundred acres of land was given to each settler, and that he and five or six settlers were furnished with horses.

That he received no implements of husbandry or live stock, and all the kitchen furniture he could procure, was an old frying pan, and a small copper kettle.

That the provisions issued to them at Red River were very indifferent, such as pemican and cat fish; no salt could be procured.

That Miles M'Donell assembled the settlers at his dwelling-house, in Red River settlement, and calling him (this deponent), Angus M'Kay, and John Mathuson to his room, desired them to tell the settlers that arms would be furnished them for their defence.

That he went out and spoke to the settlers on the subject, and which measure they all adopted, but two would not.

That upon this, they were formed into a line at the end of Mr. Miles M'Donell's house, where they were treated to a glass of spirits per man, Miles M'Donell at the same time telling him, that the laws of this country (meaning Red River) were, the stronger parties dictating to the weaker. After this harangue, each man was furnished with a gun and ammunition.

That finding his treatment the reverse to what he was led to expect from Lord Selkirk's representations, and for the reasons specified in this deposition, he judged it expedient to return to Canada, and for that purpose requested a passage from Red River, from Mr. D. Cameron (a proprietor in the North-West Company), which was granted.

And farther this deponent says not.

St. Mary Two Falls, 19th August, 1815.

(Signed) GEORGE CAMPBELL.

Sworn before me, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Indian Territories,

(Signed) . JOHN JOHNSON.

[G. G.]

Declaration and Confession of Charles Reinhard.

Moi soussigné Charles de Reinhard, m'étant rendu prisonnier à Capitaine D'Orsonnens au Lac la Pluie le 2de Octobre, 1816, en consequence de différentes circonstances arrivées depuis le tems de mon service dans la Compagnie de Nord-

Ouest, et pour ce qui a rapport à la mort de M. O. Keveney, fait volontairement la declaration suivante :—

Ayant fini mon tems de service comme Coulour-Sergeant dans le Regiment de Meuron j'ai été recommandé par M. le Lieutenant de Mezani, Commandant de ma compagnie, à Messrs. W. M'Gillivray et M'Leod, pour être Commis dans la Compagnie du N. W. et j'ai obtenu ensuite mon congé du Regiment le 24 Avril 1816, par recommendation particulière faite à son Excellence le Gouverneur Sir Gordon Drummond.

Je me suis engagé avec la plus haute opinion que j'ai reçu de M. Mezani pour servir avec tout le zèle possible une société la plus honorable, et protegée par le gouvernement, et j'ai été très satisfait de partir pour le Nord en compagnie de Messrs. les Lieutenants Mezani et Brumby, qui avoient permission d'absence du regiment pour six mois, sur la demande de la Compagnie du Nord-Oüest, pour rendre une conte impartialle au gouvernement de tout ce qui se passeroit dans ce pays.

Durant le voyage j'ai entendu parler plusieurs fois d'une opposition, sans comprendre où et comme elle étoit, jusqu'à ce que nous sommes arrivés au Lac la Pluie où M. Mezani m'informa, comme M. M'Leod souhaitoit, que je misse mon habit militaire, ainsi que mon camarade Heurtre, Messrs. M'Gillivray, M'Leod, et Mezani nous ayant recommandé de les prendre avant le depart de Montreal pour paroître dans un conseil des Sauvages, qui eut lieu dans la chambre d'audience où Messrs. Mezani et Brumby ont été introduit comme Capitaines, moi et Heurtre à leur côté comme gens du Roi. M. M'Leod dirigeoit le discours pour l'Interprète, et faisoit expliquer aux Sauvages, ce qui s'étoit passé à la Rivière Rouge, où M. Robertson avait pris le fort comme un voleur, les prisonniers maltraités, et après le pillage tout brûlé, et ce qu'on avoit à craindre d'autres violences, en consequence le gouvernement avait envoyé Messrs. les Officiers, pour voir que justice fut rendu, et M. M'Leod invita les Sauvages de prendre partie avec la Compagnie du N. W. et de leur donner assistance pour defendre leur droit, sur quoi un chef des Sauvages et vingt-quatre de ses jeunes gens après avoir reçu des presents et ammunition, sont partis le lendemain avec la brigade, la moitié dans leurs propres canôts, et la moitié dans ceux de la brigade.

Arrivés au fort Bas de la Rivière, M. M'Leod fit ouvrir les caisses d'armes, et armèrent les Canadiens ; on embarqua deux pièces de canons de metal, et la brigade monta jusqu'à la Rivière des Morts, pour y attendre encore des canôts d'Athabasca, qui sont arrivés le lendemain. Le 22de Juin

la brigade est avancé dans la Rivière des Morts, et rencontra deux barges de colonistes, dont M. M'Leod visita toutes les cassettes, coffres, &c. et garda beaucoup de papiers: il ne fit prisonnier que M. Pritchard, de qui les premiers details des évènemens qui ont eu lieu, à la Rivière Rouge, furent obtenus. Ayant retrogradé jusqu'au campement precedent avec les colonistes, M. Bourke qui étoit blessé, et trois autres serviteurs de la Compagnie d'Hudson's Bay, ont été fait prisonniers, et mis tous ensemble dans une tente, dont j'avois la surveillance.

Le lendemain M. M'Leod et les autres proprietaires presens, avec plusieurs commis, sont partis en canôts allege pour la Fourche, ainsi que Messrs. Mezani et Brumby, qui aussitôt après leur retour et des autres Messrs. de la Rivière des Morts, sont partis avec M. Hughes pour Fort William, pour apporter les nouvelles à M. Wm. M'Gillivray, et de là se rendre à Montreal immédiatement. Après que la brigade fut rassemblé, on m'envoya avec les prisonniers au Bas de la Rivière, et la brigade se rendit au Grande Rapide, craignant que M. Robertson n'intercepta les canôts chargés d'Athabasca, et Messrs. M'Donell et M'Lellan sont arrivés quatre ou cinq jours après moi, au Bas de la Rivière avec quinze Bois Brulés, trois canons, dont deux petit de metal, et un de fer, deux fusils de rempart, et environ cinquante fusils—musquets—de l'ancien modèle de l'armée. Au retour de la brigade du Grande Rapide, les prisonniers ont été embarqué pour Fort William, et j'ai reçu la direction sous le commandement de M. M'Lellan de mettre le fort en état de defense, tant contre M. Robertson, qui a été supposé vouloir prendre ce poste de provisions, où il y avoit quatre ou cinq cent sacs de pemican, qu'à recevoir avec les canons et quarante fusils en reserve toujours chargés, chaque canôt de la Compagnie d'Hudson's Bay qui tenteroit de passer la poste.

Ayant appris, que le Milord Selkirk etoit arrivé au Sault avec grand nombres d'hommes, canons, &c. on redoubla de vigilance au fort, M'Lellan faisant croire à tout le monde, que le Milord étoit leur plus grand ennemi, avilissant son caractère de toute manière,—et representant le pamphlet de M. Strahan comme parlant de Milord avec trop de moderation, publiant l'opinion de trois avocats pour prouver la nullité de la chartre, et representant Lord Selkirk comme agissant sans authorité, et faisant des loix à sa façon;—que le gouvernement étoit decidemment en faveur de la Compagnie du N. W. puisqu'il avoit envoyé deux officiers, pour voir que tout étoit en règle:—que tout ce qui fait

Lord Selkirk est sans la connoissance, ou l'agrément du Gouvernement.

Dans le commencement d'Août on a appris au bas de la Rivière, qu'il étoit arrivé dans le Lac du Bonnet une barge d'Anglois de la Baie d'Hudson avec peu de monde. Par les premiers canôts chargés pour Athabasca il arriva un homme de cette barge, qui dit, qu'il ne pouvoit plus rester avec M. Keveny qui commande cette barge, et que ses camarades échapperoient aussi à la première occasion.—Quelques jours après quatres autres hommes de cette barge sont arrivés avec des autres canôts pour Athabasca. Deux ou trois jours après M. M'Leod étant arrivé du Fort William examina les hommes, dont un nommé Hay a fait serment, que M. Keveny avoit cruellement maltraité lui et ses camarades, sur cela M. M'Leod donna un warrant contre lui, et nomma moi, et un de ses propres hommes nommé Castalo, comme connetables, pour aller l'arrêter au portage, où ses gens l'avoit abandonné. M. M'Lellan ordonna six Bois-Brulés avec moi pour assistance; en arrivant sur les dix heures de matin, j'ai trouvé M. Keveny dans sa tente, et je lui ai annoncé ma mission, le faisant prisonnier au nom du Roi; il fut très surpris, il saisit ses pistolets pour se defendre.—Lui ayant representé que son opposition à la loi seroit une cause inévitable de sa mort immediate, il resta tranquille et demanda à voir le warrant par lequel il étoit arrêté.—L'ayant lu, il vint de nouveau furieux, et j'avois beaucoup de peine à empêcher les Bois-Brulés de le tuer. M. Keveny fut emmene prisonnier au bas de la Rivière, j'ai laissé l'interprète Primeau pour avoir soin de ses propriétés déjà sous la charge de son commis, nommé Cowly, et son domestique un Irlandois. Arrivés au fort avec le prisonnier, il eut une vive dispute avec M'Lellan, pretendant ne point être sous la jurisdiction du Canada, étant sur la territoire de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, il pretendoit être independant du loi du Canada. Le lendemain vers les dix heures il fut embarqué pour Fort William avec cinq Bois-Brulés, à qui M. M'Lellan remit des fers pour en faire usage en cas que le prisonnier fit resistance. J'ai ensuite appris des Bois-Brulés, qu'arrivés au portage, le prisonnier se conduisit de manière à les obliger de le garrotter, et lui mettre les fers aux mains. Le commis de M. Keveny (Cowly) étant abandonné, se rendit au fort, demanda à M. M'Lellan de recevoir contre un reçu la barge avec la charge, et de lui accorder la liberté, et encore un homme pour retourner avec un petit canôt au Fort Albany, d'où ils etoient venus. Le reçu a été delivré pour quatre veaux, une alembique, une caisse d'armes, des quarts de bœufs salés, farine, etc. etc. Au retour de Primeau

au fort il delivra des papiers de M. Keveny à M. M'Lellan, et il garda pour lui les habillemens qu'il (M. Keveny) avoit laissé en partant pour Fort-William ; il fit en outre present à M. M'Lellan de livre, flacon à vin, chandeliers, tasses, et autres petites articles.

Parmi les papiers il y avoit des instructions imprimés d'Hudson's Bay. J'ai appris que M. M'Donell ayant rencontré le prisonnier et les cinq Bois-Brulés, remplaça les cinq Bois-Brulés par deux jeunes Canadiens, et un Sauvage comme guide, pour conduire le prisonnier au Lac la Pluie. Messrs Stuart et Thompson ayant rencontré, trois ou quatres jours après, ce canôt, le firent retourner. Les Canadiens et le Sauvage s'étant disputé, il se separèrent, et les Canadiens, ignorant le chemin, n'ont plus pu suivre leur route, ont abandonné le prisonnier dans une petite isle, et sont restés dans une autre isle pas loin de lui. M. Stuart étant arrivé au bas de la Rivière avec la nouvelle que Fort William étoit pris, M'Lellan l'envoya avec un canôt allege à Athabasca pour avertir M. M'Leod, et un autre à la Rivière Rouge pour avertir M. M'Donell, qui arriva au bas de la Rivière le 4me Septembre, dans la nuit, avec les Bois-Brulés et des Sauvages. Pendant tout ce tems on attendoit M. Keveny, qui n'arrivoit point, et on conjecturoit ou que le Sauvage l'avoit tué, ou que les Canadiens s'étoient égarés, ou que le canôt avoit fait naufrage. Le 5me de Septembre M. M'Donell et M'Lellan ont assemblé tout le monde au bas de la Rivière pour un conseil, on representa dans une proclamation la prise du Fort William, et les dangers qu'on courroient en permettant à l'ennemi de pénétrer plus avant, et demanda, ceux qui voudroient se rendre volontairement au Lac la Pluie, de s'annoncer. La plupart ayant refusé et preféré defendre leurs terres à la Rivière Rouge, M. M'Lellan en pris un canôt allege avec M. Grant, Cadot, et moi, ses Bois-Brulés, et son domestique, un Canadien, dans l'intention de se rendre au Lac la Pluie pour apprendre des nouvelles, et en même temps chercher à decouvrir ce qu'étoit devenu M. Keveny. Pendant le voyage la conversation general étoit que si on le trouvoit, il falloit le tuer, étant un ennemi determiné de la Compagnie, et qu'il pourroit faire beaucoup de dommage à la Rivière Rouge, si dans le tems il auroit occasion de prendre vengeance. Après quatre jours de marche, le Sauvage s'est trouvé près d'une petite rivière, quelques heures après on apperçut les Canadiens, aux quels M'Lellan administroit beaucoup d'invectives, et plusieurs coups de perches, pour avoir battu le Sauvage et abandonné le prisonnier. Les Bois-Brulés ont insulté les Canadiens pour avoir empeché au Sauvage de tuer le prisonnier, qui disoient, il

auroit dû être mis à mort au moment qu'il fut pris. M. M'Lellan s'étant informé, où il pourroit trouver le prisonnier, il prit les Canadiens dans le canôt, le Sauvage y étant déjà, recouvert d'un manteau Ecossais, afin de n'être pas reconnu. M. M'Lellan en fut furieux en arrivant à l'isle où le prisonnier avoit été abandonné, sans le trouver, croyant qu'il s'étoit échappé de la côté de la Baie d'Hudson, et chercha chez tous les Sauvages, jusqu'à ce qu'il le trouva par sa *tente*, qui étoit près d'une famille de Sauvages, à qui M'Lellan fit present de rum et tabac, et traita un petit canôt pour faire embarquer le prisonnier avec moi et un Bois-Brulé, et le Sauvage, disant à moi, "Faites croire au prisonnier qu'il doit "descendre au Lac la Pluie. Nous ne pouvons pas le tuer "ici parmi les Sauvages. Nous vous attendrons plus loin, et "quand vous trouverez un endroit favorable, vous savez ce "que vous avez à faire."—Sur quoi il partit. Environ trois quarts d'heures après que les femmes Sauvages eurent finis de gommer le petit canôt, j'ai fait embárquer le prisonnier avec tout son baggage, à l'exception d'une valise et un portmanteau qui furent mis dans le canôt de M. M'Lellan, et environ un quart de lieue de là, la rivière faisant un coud, et M. Keveny ayant demandé de mettre pied à terre pour ses besoins, j'ai dit à Mainville, (le Bois-Brulé) "nous "sommes assez loin des Sauvages, tu peux tirer quand il "sera proche pour se rembarquer," le Sauvage tenoit le canôt par devant, et moi j'etois aussi à terre. Quand M. Keveny approcha pour s'embarquer, Mainville lui lacha son coup de fusil, dont le contenu lui traversa le cou, et comme j'ai vu que le coup n'étoit pas assez mortel, et que M. Keveny vouloit encore parler, étant tombé en avant sur le canôt, je lui ai passé mon sabre par derrière le dos contre le cœur à deux reprises, afin de terminer ses souffrances. Etant bien mort, ilsdepouillèrent le cadavre, et le portèrent dans le bois. M'étant rendu au camp de M. M'Lellan, qui, en voyant arrivé le petit canôt, il envoya M. Grant et Cadot, pour me demander si M. Keveny étoit tué.—Ayant repondu qu'*oui*, ils m'informèrent que M. M'Lellan les avoit envoyé pour me donner la direction de dire qu'il n'est pas tué, sur quoi je leur dis, qu'il est tué, et qui je ne le cacherois pas, puisqu'il étoit executé par ses ordres. Arrivés au camp, M'Lellan a demandé les details du meurtre, que je lui ai donné comme ci-dessus, et je lui ai remis sa tente, son lit, et tout le baggage; il examina tous les papiers pendant la nuit, brûlant les uns et gardant les autres, et le reste il remit à ma discretion: j'ai distribué entre les Bois-Brulés quelques habillements portés. M. Grant demandèrent la tente, et M. Cadot différentes articles, et je contois de garder un coffre avec des habillements fins, pour ma

part, mais tous fut laissé en cache pour le retour du Lac la Pluie. Nous arrivâmes le 13 Septembre au soir, au Fort Lac la Pluie, où trouvant que le fort n'étoit pas occupé par le parti de Lord Selkirk, M. M'Lellan proposa de se rendre au Fort William pour obtenir des intelligences, ce qui ayant été refusé par les Bois-Brulés, il me proposa d'y descendre dans un petit canôt avec deux au trois Canadiens, mais Mr. Dease ayant sa famille au fort, demanda et obtint d'y aller à ma place. M. M'Lellan partit pour le Bas de la Rivière, le dix-sept, et moi j'étois pour rester au Lac la Pluie jusqu'au retour de Mr. Dease; le 2de Octobre de grand matin j'ai reçu une lettre du Capitaine D'Orsonnens, qui avoit appris par les Sauvages, que j'étois là, il m'avertissoit de ne pas fuir de l'endroit, qu'il avoit absolument à me parler concernant les affaires de la Rivière Rouge, m'envoyant en même temps une copie de la proclamation du Gouvernement. Capitaine D'Orsonnens étant arrivé sur les deux heures avec Mr. Dease, et m'ayant expliqué les circonstances des deux Compagnies, et que ceux du N. W. qui étoit à la Rivière Rouge seroit consideré comme rebelles au Gouvernement, s'il persistoit dans leur conduite, je fus des plus surpris de cette nouvelle, et sourtout fremit d'horreur au crime affreux, auquel ces Messrs. de N. W. m'avoit fait participer, peu de jours auparavant sur la personne de M. Keveny.—Ayant cru jusqu'à ce moment là m'être conformé aux vœux du Gouvernement—sur quoi je me rendis prisonnier au Capitaine D'Orsonnens, et lui donnois tous les details ci-dessus.

Fort-William, le 28 Octobre, 1816.

(Signed) C. de REINHARD*,
Commis de la Compagnie
de Nord-Ouest.

Before Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, and also in the Indian Territories or parts of America not within the Province of Upper or Lower Canada, appeared Charles Reinhard, charged with the crime of murder, who, being examined, confessed that he had assisted in murdering Mr. Owen Keveny, and gave in the

* Reinhard is a native of the Tyrol.—He had been long in the regiment De Meuron, in which he was a pay and colour serjeant, and was highly esteemed by his officers.—It has not been thought necessary to add a translation to his Confession, above inserted, as the substance of it is given in the account of Mr. Keveney's murder, in the Observations, page 160.

annexed statement, written with his own hand, on the seven preceding pages, and signed with his name, declaring that the same contained a true account of the transaction, and of the reason by which he was misled to participate in such a crime.

(Signed) C. REINHARD,
Commis de la Compagnie
du Nord-Ouest.

Declared before me, at Fort William,
on the 3rd day of November, 1816.
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

In presence of
J. MATTHEY, Capt. late D. M. Regt.
JOHN WILLIAM DEASE,
JOHN ALLAN,
ALEX. BRIDPORD BECHER.
} *Witnesses.*

[H. H.]

Deposition of Baptiste La Pointe.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the Upper Province of Canada, and the Indian Territories, and parts of America, appeared Baptiste La Pointe, of the parish of l'Assomption, who being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, declares,

Que cet été, il partit du Lac la Pluie dans le canôt de Mr. M'Donell, (dit les cheveuz blonds) entrant en hivernement pour la Rivière Rouge; arrivés à la Pointe aux Pins, ils rencontrèrent cinq Bois-Brulés, dans deux petits canôts Indiens, avec un homme ayant les fers aux mains, les poignets enflés, et on l'appelloit Keveny; les Bois-Brulés dirent qu'il étoit prisonnier pour avoir tué deux ou trois de ses gens. Monsieur M'Donell ordonna au deposant et à Hubert Faye de prendre charge de M. Keveny avec un Sauvage nommé Josè, comme guide, pour se rendre au Lac la Pluie. Après neuf jours dont plusieurs de degrat, ils rencontrèrent en deçà du Portage du Rat, Monsieur Stuart, et le bourgeois de la Rivière aux Anglois, Mr. Thompson, qui leur dirent de retourner sur leurs pas.—Leur petit canôt ne pouvant suivre la brigade ils furent obligés de mettre à terre. Le Sauvage qui dès le commencement avoit fait les mouvemens de tuer Mr. Keveney, en se mettant en joue, et disant "*Monsieur M'Donell—pouf*"—fut plus exasperé de ce contre tems, et de ce que le deposant et Faye l'avoient empêché de tuer Mr. Keveny, à plusieurs reprises, mit le canôt en pieces à coup d'avirons.—Se trouvant sans canôt le Sauvage en acheta un autre pour une couverte, dans lequel le deposant et Faye

embarquèrent, laissant Mr. Keveny sur le rivage, et ils partirent pour se rendre au Bas de la Rivière. Après avoir marché jusqu'au soir—le Sauvage, après avoir voulu tuer le deposant et Faye, se separa d'eux, et le canôt ayant disparu par un remoux, ils restèrent dans cet endroit quatre jours, au bout desquels arriva un canôt avec Monsieur Arché (M'Lellan) Monsieur Cadot, Monsieur Reinhard, et cinq ou six Bois-Brulés, ainsi que le Sauvage José, assis sur le devant du canôt, et recouvert d'une cloque Ecossaise. Après plusieurs questions concernant le Sauvage et le prisonnier, et le deposant ayant informé Monsieur Arché, qu'ils s'étoient separés parce que le Sauvage avoit voulu tuer Mr. Keveny, et en avoit été empêché par le deposant et son compagnon, en vengeance de quoi le Sauvage avoit aussi eu dessein de les tuer, ils s'étoient en consequence battus et separés de lui.—Sui quoi M. Cadot traita le deposant et son compagnon de "Sacres Salots" pour avoir empêché au Sauvage de faire ce qu'on lui avoit ordonné de faire; M. Arché étant debarqué dans ce moment, donna des coups de perche d'abord à Faye, et ensuite au deposant, qui en a encore le bras gauche foible. Ayant eu ordre d'embarquer dans le canôt, ils arrivèrent le même jour, ou le lendemain, à l'endroit où ils avoient laissé Mr. Keveny, qui n'y étoit plus, mais il fut trouvé à quatre ou cinque lieues plus en deçà, parmi des Sauvages.—Après quelque conversation entre M. Keveny et ceux de leur canottée, M. Arché ordonna d'embarquer, et le canôt partit, laissant en arrière le Sauvage José, M. Reinhard, le Bois-Brulé Mainville, et M. Keveny. Ayant campé trois lieues en deçà, ils virent venir le petit canôt, qu'ils s'étoient procurés des Sauvages, et comme il ne contenoit que trois personnes, les Bois-Brulés dirent qu'ils avoient enfin tué M. Keveny, ce que Mainville leur confirma en arrivant, disant que la balle lui avoit passé dans le col, et un coup de poignard dans le dos, et qu'il étoit tombé par dessus le canôt. Le deposant a vu le canôt couvert de sang, les habits que portoit M. Keveny ensanglantés, et transpercés de coups de poignards, et d'un trou de balle ; le Sauvage a lavé l'habillement ; et on en a fait un partage. La tente, des bottes, et autres effets ont été pris en cache.—M. Arché ayant pris sous ses soins trois ou quatre petites cassettes et écritoires, contenant beaucoup de papiers qu'il fut occupé, partie de la nuit, à lire et à brûler, et le lendemain il eut la même revision des papiers, jettant à l'eau, lestés avec des pierres, ceux qui lui étoient inutiles. Ayant fini, M. Arché félicita les Bois-Brulés d'avoir detruit cet homme là, qui, s'il étoit allé à la Rivière Rouge, avoit le pouvoir d'y amener de la troupe, et de les faire tuer tous. Le deposant ajoute qu'il a eu l'habit de M. Keveny en sa possession jusques au Lac la Pluie, où

quelqu'un l'a subtilisé hors de sa poche. Il a entendu M. Arché proposer aux Bois-Brulés de descendre pour reprendre le Fort William, avec des Sauvages, mais n'ayant eu que trois adherens, ils repartirent pour le bas de la Rivière.

His
BAPTISTE + LA POINTE,
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, the
21st of October, 1816.
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

THAT he, (Baptiste La Pointe) set out last summer from Lake la Pluie in the canoe of Mr. M'Donell, (called the fair haired) who was then going to winter at Red River. When they arrived at Pine Point, they met five Bois-Brulés in two small canoes, with a man whom they called Keveney, in handcuffs, and with his wrists swelled, and who, the Bois-Brulés said, had been made a prisoner because he had killed two or three of his people. Mr. M'Donell ordered the deponent and Hubert Faye to take charge of Mr. Keveney, with an Indian, named Joseph, as a guide to go to Lake la Pluie. After nine days of travelling, including stoppages, they met on this side of the Rat Portage, Mr. Stuart, and the English River partner, Mr. Thompson, who told them to return back again. Their little canoe not being able to keep up with the brigade, they were obliged to land. The Indian, who from the first had attempted to kill Mr. Keveney, levelling his piece, and saying, "*Mr. M'Donell—puff*," was so much exasperated at this disappointment, and also because the deponent and Faye had at different times prevented him killing Mr. Keveney, that he knocked the canoe to pieces with a paddle. Being now without a canoe, the Indian bought another for a blanket, in which he embarked with the deponent and Faye, leaving Mr. Keveney on the shore. They then set out for Bas de la Riviere, and after proceeding till night, the Indian who had attempted to kill both the deponent and Faye, left them; and the Canadians having lost their canoe, remained in that place four days; at the end of which time a canoe arrived with Mr. Archibald (M'Lellan), Mr. Cadot, Mr. Reinhard, and five or six Bois-Brulés, together with the Indian, Joseph, sitting on the front of the canoe, wrapped in a Scotch plaid. After several questions about the Indian and the prisoner, the deponent having informed Mr. Archibald, that they had parted because the Indian wanted to kill Mr. Keveney, and had been prevented by the deponent and his companion; and that in revenge he had wanted to kill them, when they fought and separated. On this Mr. Cadot called him and his companion "Sacres Salots," for having prevented the Indian from doing what he was ordered. Mr. Archibald having come on shore at

that moment, took the pole of the canoe, and beat Faye and the deponent, whose left arm is still weak from the blows. Being ordered to embark in the canoe, they arrived the same day, or the next, at the place where they had left Mr. Keveney, who was no longer there. They found him, however, four or five leagues further on, among some Indians. After some conversation between Mr. Keveney and some of his people, Mr. Archibald ordered them to embark, and the canoe set out, leaving behind, the Indian Joseph, Mr. Rembard, the Bois-Brulé Mainville, and Mr. Keveney. Having encamped three leagues further on, they saw the small canoe approaching which had been bought from the Indians; and as there were only three persons then in it, the Bois-Brulés said they had at last killed Mr. Keveney, which Mainville confirmed when he arrived, saying that the bullet had passed through his neck, and that he had been stabbed in the back, and had fallen upon the canoe. The deponent saw the canoe covered with blood, and the clothes that Mr. Keveney had on, bloody, and pierced by a sword and a bullet. The Indian washed the clothes, and they divided them. The tent, boots, and other effects were left concealed.—Mr. Archibald having taken possession of two or three small boxes and desks containing a number of papers, he was employed a part of the night in reading and burning them. The next day he continued the same examination of papers, throwing into the water with stones wrapped up in them, those he found useless. Having finished, he congratulated the Bois-Brulés on having destroyed that man, who, he said, if he had got to Red River, had the power of bringing a force there, and have killed them all. The deponent adds, that he had Mr. Keveney's coat in his possession till he came to Lake la Pluie, where some one stole it out of his pocket. He heard Mr. Archibald propose to the Bois-Brulés to go down to re-take Fort William with the Indians; but having only three adherents, they set out again for Bas de la Rivière.

His
BAPTISTE + LA POINTE.
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, the
21st of October, 1816.
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[I. I.]

Deposition of Hubert Faye.

ore Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of His Majesty's s assigned to keep the peace in the Upper Province of Canada, and the Indian Territories, and parts of America, —appeared Hubert Faye, de la paroisse de La Prairie, who being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, declares,

Que sur la fin de cet été il partit de Lac la Pluie dans le canôt de M. Cadot, en compagnie d'un autre canôt, monté par le bourgeois M'Donell, pour se rendre au Bas de la Rivière. Sur midi de la quatrième journée, ils rencontrèrent deux petits canôts, dans lesquels se sont trouvés cinq Bois-Brulés, et un Monsieur de bonne mine, prisonnier, ayant les fers aux mains, pour avoir (disoit les Bois-Brulés) tué trois hommes.—Après de longues conferences entre eux, M. M'Donell commanda au deposant, La Pointe, et un Sauvage, d'embarquer dans un des petits canôts des Bois-Brulés, en charge du prisonnier qu'on nommoit M. Keveney. Le Sauvage se nommoit Joseph, et doit être le fils de la *Perdrix Blanche*. Etant parti de cet endroit nommé la Pointe aux Pins, le Sauvage demanda au deposant, deux nuits consecutifs, d'assister à tuer le prisonnier dans sa tente. Le deposant lui dit " *tuer est pas bon*," sur quoi le Sauvage repondit " Mons. M'Donell dira, ' *c'est bon*.' "—La cinquième journée aprés avoir quitté la Pointe aux Pins, ils rencontrèrent, au soleil levant, les canôts de Mr. Stuart, Thompson, et M. Ferries, qui après quelque conversation dirent au deposant qu'il pouvoit retourner, qu'aucun canôt ne descendroit du Lac la Pluie.—Le vent étant fort, ils mirent à terre, et après avoir gommé leur canôt, ils marchèrent le lendemain. Le Sauvage cette nuit avoit fait plusieurs efforts pour tuer l'Anglois, à quoi le deposant et son camarade s'opposèrent constamment; et s'étant rembarqués les deux Canadiens et le Sauvage pour se procurer des vivres, le Sauvage ne voulut pas permettre qu'ils rembarquassent M. Keveney qui étoit resté sur la grève, et comme c'étoit le passage des canôts ils le laissèrent là.—Après six à sept jours de marche et de degrats, pendant lesquels le Sauvage et La Pointe eurent dispute, le Sauvage se sauva parce que le deposant lui avoit ôté son fusil dont il vouloit tuer La Pointe.—Le canôt de M. Arché (M'Lellan) avec M. Grant, M. Cadot, M. Reinhard et sept Bois-Brulés, arriva; et M. Cadot trouva à redire au deposant de n'avoir pas laissé tué l'Anglois par le Sauvage.—Sur quoi M'Arché sortit du canôt, et frappa le deposant avec une perche, pour avoir pris le fusil du Sauvage.—M. Arché nous fit embarquer, et demanda où étoit le prisonnier, ce que le deposant ne put lui dire, étant écarté.—Arrivé à l'endroit où M. Keveney avoit été laissé, il ne s'y trouva plus, et ce n'est qu'au Haut des Dalles, à cinq ou six lieues de là, qu'on le trouva dans sa tente.—Après quelque consultation M. Arché traita un petit canôt pour du rum, et on repartit de suite, laissant en arrière le Sauvage Joseph, Mr. Reinhard, le Bois-Brulé Mainville, et M. Keveney.—

Ayant fait quelques lieues de chemin, et demi heure après avoir debarqués, ils entendirent un coup de fusil, sur quoi Desmarais s'exclama—"*Ah le chien, je paris qu'il a tué le prisonnier.*"—Quand le canôt tournoit la pointe, M. Arché, M. Cadot, M. Grant, et d'autres accoururent et demanderent,—"*s'ils l'avoient tué?*"—A quoi une reponse affirmative.—Mainville dit ensuite au deposant, qu'il avoit tiré son coup de fusil au prisonnier dans le col, et que le Sergeant Reinhard lui avoit donné des coups de sabre.—Le deposant a vu les habillements que portoit auparavant M. Keveney, couverts de sang, percé de coups de sabres et d'une balle dans le collet.—Le Sauvage et les Bois-Brulés lavèrent les vêtemens, et voulurent en faire le partage quand Reinhard le leur prit et mit le tout dans un coffre.—M. Arché prit soin des papiers, qui étoient dans plusieurs petits caisses et bureaux qui furent laissés dans le bois avec la tente, le lit, et le reste du butin du prisonnier.—Une partie de la nuit fut employé par M. Arché et ces autres Messieurs qui savent lire, à reviser et lire ces papiers, qu'ils brûloient à mesure.—Le lendemain dans le canôt il eut la même occupation, et coulant à fond les papiers au moyen des pierres enveloppés dedans.—M. Arché dit aux Bois-Brulés, que c'étoit bien avantageux d'avoir empêché à cet homme là de se rendre au Fort William, où il auroit pu les ruiner tous.

His
HUBERT + FAŸE.
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, the
21st day of October, 1816.
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

That about the end of this summer, he, Hubert Faÿe, set out from Lake la Pluie in Mr. Cadót's canoe, in company with another, in which was the partner M'Donell, to go to Bas de la Rivière.—About the middle of the fourth day's journey, they met two small canoes, in which were five Bois-Brulés, and a gentleman of good appearance, as prisoner, who was handcuffed, and who, the Bois-Brulés said, had killed three men. After a long conference, Mr. M'Donell ordered the deponent, and La Pointe, and an Indian, to embark in one of these little canoes, and take charge of the prisoner, whom they called Mr. Keveney,—The Indian was named Joseph, the son of the *White Partridge.*—Having set out from Pine Point, the Indian asked the

deponent, in the two following nights, to help him to kill the prisoner in his tent.—The deponent said, "To kill is not good;" —to which the Indian answered, "Mr. M'Donell will say, It is "good." The fifth day after they left Pine Point, they met at sun-rise the canoes of Messrs. Stuart, Thompson, and Ferries, who, after some conversation, said to the deponent, that he must return, as no canoe was to go from Lake la Pluie.—The wind being violent, they went ashore, and after having gummed their canoe, they proceeded in the morning, the Indian having made several attempts in the night-time to kill the Englishman, which the deponent and his companion constantly opposed;—and the two Canadians and the Indian having re-embarked to procure provisions, the Indian would not permit Mr. Keveney to come on board, who therefore remained on the beach; and, as it was the place where canoes passed, they left him there.—After six or seven day's march and stoppages, during which the Indian and La Pointe had a quarrel, the Indian went off, because the deponent took away his gun, with which he wanted to kill La Pointe. —Mr. Archibald (M'Lellan,) with Mr. Grant, Mr. Cadot, Mr. Reinhard, and seven Bois-Brulés arrived; and Mr. Cadot found fault with the deponent for not having allowed the Indian to kill the Englishman, upon which Mr. Archibald got out of the canoe and struck the deponent with a pole for having taken the Indian's gun.—Mr. Archibald then made us embark, and asked where the prisoner was; which the deponent could not tell him, as they had missed their way.—When they arrived at the spot where Mr. Keveney had been left, he was not to be found; but when they reached the Haut des Dalles, about five or six leagues further on, they found him in his tent.—After some consultation Mr. Archibald bought a small canoe, for some rum, and proceeded, leaving behind Joseph, Mr. Reinhard, the Bois-Brulé Mainville, and Mr. Keveney.—Having advanced some leagues, and about half an hour after they had gone ashore, they heard the report of a gun; upon which Desmarais exclaimed, "Ah, the "dog—I'll wager that he has killed the prisoner."—When the canoe turned the point, Mr. Archibald, Mr. Cadot, Mr. Grant, and others, ran and asked, "if they had killed him?"—upon which an answer was given in the affirmative.—Mainville then said to the deponent, that he had shot the prisoner in the neck, and that Serjeant Reinhard had stabbed him with his sword.— The deponent saw the clothes which Mr. Keveney had worn, covered with blood, pierced with the sword, and with a bullet through the collar.—The Indian and the Bois-Brulés washed the clothes, and wanted to divide them, when Reinhard took them, and put the whole in a trunk. Mr. Archibald took care of the papers which were in several little boxes and desks, and which were left in the woods, with the tent, the bed, and other property of the prisoner.—A part of the night was employed by Mr. Archibald and the other gentlemen who could read, in examining these papers, which they burnt after reading them. Next

day he was similarly employed in the canoe, sinking the papers by wrapping stones in them. Mr. Archibald told the Bois-Brulés, that it was very fortunate they had prevented that man from getting to Fort William, where he might have ruined them all.

His
HUBERT + FAŸE,
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, the
21st day of October, 1816.
(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[K. K.]

Account of the Transactions at Fort William, on Lake Superior, in August 1816, *by Mr. Fauche, late Lieutenant of the Regiment De Meuron.*

In the month of May 1816, orders arrived in Canada for the reduction of the Regiment De Meuron, in which I was a lieutenant.—His Excellency the Administrator-in-chief, on communicating the same to the colonel of the regiment, acquainted him with the advantages held out by his Majesty's government to the officers and men who would wish to remain and settle in that country. The Earl of Selkirk was then at Montreal; and as his Lordship wished to obtain a number of efficient settlers for his colony at the Red River, he agreed with several of the officers and privates to accompany him for the purpose of settling there. His Lordship was very particular in his choice of the men, as none but those of the best character, and who knew some of the requisite and useful trades for the settlement would be accepted. Engagements accordingly were entered into between them and the Earl of Selkirk, who agreed to give the officers and men a portion of land. In addition to this the men were to receive agricultural implements, and to be paid at the rate of eight dollars per month for working the boats to their destination. His Lordship further agreed that if the men on their arrival at the settlement, should not wish to remain there, they should be sent back at his Lordship's expence to Montreal, or to Europe, by the ships from Hud-

On the 4th of June, 1816, three officers, myself being the

fourth, and about eighty men, left Montreal and proceeded to Kingston in Upper Canada. The Watteville Regiment had been stationed at the latter place, and was also under orders to be disbanded. Twenty of that corps were engaged by Captain Matthey, in the name and on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, upon the same conditions with those of the Regiment De Meuron.

After having made the necessary arrangements for our voyage at Kingston, we proceeded along Lake Ontario to York, and from thence to Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron, where we were joined by the Earl of Selkirk, who had remained several days after us at Montreal. We proceeded with his Lordship towards the Sault St. Mary's—about thirty miles from which is situated Drummond's Island, to which place his Lordship went, we continuing our route to the Sault, where we remained a few miles above the Rapid. A guard of one serjeant and seven men had been granted for his Lordship's protection by the Governor of Canada; and it was from Drummond's Island that they were to accompany him, it being the last garrison of the British dominions in that quarter. Lord Selkirk joined us at the Sault St. Mary's, and we had hardly left that place, when we perceived two canoes, in one of which was Mr. Miles Macdonell, who brought the dismal intelligence of the complete destruction of the colony.

After this information Lord Selkirk did not proceed to the Fond du Lac, as was first intended, but went to Fort William for the purpose of obtaining intelligence as to the affair at the Red River. His Lordship applied to Mr. Askin and Mr. Ermatinger, two magistrates, to accompany him, but the private affairs of these two gentlemen prevented them.

We arrived at Fort William on the 12th of August, and pitched our tents on the opposite side of the river about half a mile from the Fort. On the same day the Earl of Selkirk sent Captain D'Orsonnens with a letter to Mr. M'Gillivray, (the principal Agent of the North-West Company at Fort William) requesting him to release several people who had been present at the affair of the Red River, from their confinement, but Mr. M'Gillivray did not admit that they had been arrested, and they came over to us immediately afterwards.

The Earl of Selkirk was engaged the rest of the day in taking evidence from those people, and he issued a warrant on the 13th against Mr. M'Gillivray, who immediately came over to his Lordship's tent with two other partners, one, Kenneth

M'Kenzie, the other —— M'Laughlin, whom he brought as bail, but, charges being also preferred against those two gentlemen, they were likewise made prisoners. After his Lordship had been engaged some time with Mr. M'Gillivray, he determined on arresting the other partners who were still in the Fort, and accordingly sent over the constable with warrants accompanied by about twenty-five men, with Captain D'Orsonnens, Mr. Allen, Mr. Becher, and myself. We were distributed in two boats, and arrived shortly at the Fort where the constables landed, being accompanied by all the gentlemen. The men remained in the boats, but as some resistance was apprehended, they were ready to support the constables in the execution of their duty, if required. Between two and three hundred Indians and Canadians, in the North-West Company's service, were standing outside of the gate. The partners who were to be arrested stood in the gate of the fort; and the constables being informed of their names, proceeded in executing the warrants—when one of the Partners, John M'Donald, declared that he would not submit to the warrant, or allow any body to enter the fort until Mr. M'Gillivray was liberated. At the same time the gate was partly shut, and the resistance which was made forced the constable to call for assistance. The men rushed out of the boats with their arms, and soon cleared their way through the gate. They were then ordered to take Mr. M'Donald, who was exceedingly violent, and to conduct him to the boats. The others peaceably submitted to the warrants, and appointed two clerks for the management of their concerns during their absence. The bugle which had sounded when the constables first called for assistance was a signal that resistance was made at the fort, and for the remainder of our party to join us. They accordingly came over, and every thing being, by that time, quiet, they stood outside of the fort.

The prisoners were then sent to his Lordship, who, after having examined them, allowed them to return for the night to their respective apartments in the Fort, upon the condition that they would not attempt any hostilities, to which they pledged their word of honour, and went over to the Fort. We all returned to our encampment, with the exception of twenty men, and Lieutenant de Graffenreid, who remained during the night in the Fort; and his Lordship issued a warrant, ordering the papers of the North-West Company to be sealed.

Though the Partners of the North-West Company had pledged their word of honour, that all should remain as his

Lordship had ordered, we received the intelligence, that a canoe had been sent off during the night, loaded with ammunition and arms, and that many papers had been burnt in the kitchen of the mess-house, by the partners. We found eight barrels of gunpowder lying in a field near the fort, which had also been taken away, during the night, out of the powder magazine. We also found, in a barn among some hay, about fifty stand of guns, which were apparently fresh loaded and primed.

From these discoveries, it was suspected that a surprise would be attempted by the Canadian servants and the Indians in the North-West Company's employment; and most of them, therefore, were sent to the other side of the river. Their canoes, also, were secured within the fort. The prisoners were more strictly guarded, and as no reliance could be put on their word of honour, they were taken to a separate building, and guarded as close prisoners. His Lordship ordered our tents to be removed, and pitched in front of the fort, that we might be better able to repulse a sudden attack, if attempted by the North-West Company. After having taken all necessary measures for our own security, Lord Selkirk proceeded with the examination of the prisoners, the criminality of whom appeared to his Lordship to be such as to justify him in sending them under an escort to York, in Upper Canada. He requested that I would take charge of the prisoners, and escort them safely to their destination. We set out on the 18th of August, in three canoes, provided with every thing which I thought necessary for our voyage. We proceeded along Lake Superior, and, about a week after our departure, we had the misfortune to lose one of our canoes. As this has been imputed to my insisting upon, and forcing the embarkation of the party that day, I trust that the following account will be sufficient to justify my proceedings.

In the morning of the 26th of August, we proceeded, with a light breeze, and stopped, as usual, to take our dinner at one o'clock, at an island about fifteen miles from the Sault St. Mary, where we expected to arrive the same evening. During our dinner the wind increased, but, being at the lee side of the island, we did not feel its violence. Mr. M'Gillivray, who had upwards of twenty years experience in this navigation, and whom I invariably consulted during our voyage, was, upon this occasion, especially questioned by me; and, on asking whether he thought it dangerous to proceed, he replied that there would not be the least danger, if the guides of the canoes did their duty. Upon this

we left the island, and soon felt the violence of the wind, which increased every moment. It was too late to put back, and the wind being west, and consequently fair, we proceeded under close reefed sails, and steered for the first point of land. But, having taken in a good deal of water, we thought of steering towards a small island which lay on our left, in order to save ourselves if possible. On arriving near this island, one of our canoes upset on the shoals; and unfortunately, notwithstanding all the efforts made by the other two canoes, nine people were lost out of twenty-one, among whom was Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, one serjeant, and one man of our late Regiment De Meuron, and six more, Indians in the service of the North-West Company. We succeeded in landing at this island, and, after having lightened our canoes by taking out the baggage, we went out again, to save, if possible, some more of our unfortunate people. We soon reached the place where the canoe was wrecked, but could not find any body. The canoe was dashed to pieces, but we succeeded in saving a few trunks which were afloat. Some time after the accident, we went in search of the bodies, and found, near the island, that of Mr. K. M'Kenzie. Every possible measure was taken to restore him to life, but without success. We also found the bodies of the serjeant, and of several Indians, whom we buried in the island. The following day we departed from the island, with the body of Mr. M'Kenzie, assisted by some of the neighbouring Indians, and arrived shortly at the Sault St. Mary's, where Mr. M'Kenzie was buried.

After the foregoing statement, will it be believed that I was the principal cause of this unfortunate accident? Is it probable that I would have exposed myself to so great danger, if I had in the least anticipated it? Or could I have had any reason for exposing Captain de Lorimier, a friend, who was the only person whom I could trust in that disagreeable voyage? He was in the canoe that upset, and fortunately escaped the fury of the waves. It is unnecessary further to defend myself, as I have sufficient witnesses to testify that I consulted Mr. M'Gillivray, and followed his advice.

After we had buried the body of Mr. Kenneth M'Kenzie, we left the Sault St. Mary's accompanied by Mr. Rochblave, a partner of the North-West Company, who by taking his own canoe, enabled us to proceed with the people who had been saved. On the 3rd of September we arrived at York, the capital of Upper Canada. On inquiring after the Attorney-General, I was informed that he had gone on

his circuit to Kingston, and that I would find him there, or at Brockville. I was advised by the magistrates of York, and by several other persons, to proceed to these places; in consequence of which we left York on the following day, and at Kingston we were informed that the Attorney-General was at Brockville. We soon arrived at that place, where I hoped to be unburdened from so disagreeable a charge; but the prisoners having applied for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, I was charged to convey them to Montreal, where we arrived on the 10th of September, and where the prisoners were all admitted to bail.

Private affairs having called me to England, I left Montreal in the beginning of November last; and it is after having read a Publication by the North-West Company, entitled "A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America," that I make this true Statement, which I hope will take away the unfavourable opinion which the injurious publication of the North-West Company may have made on the Public.

Nothing can exceed the malignity of the allusions which are levelled by the North-West Company at the character of the late Regiment De Meuron, some of whom chose to accompany the Earl of Selkirk. They are called worthless plunderers and deserters from Buonaparte's armies in Spain, from whence the North-West Company assert they were sent to America. This shews completely how little regard they have for the feelings of others, and what a change there is in their opinions as soon as their interest is concerned. The officers of the Regiment De Meuron have always been admitted in society in Canada, and especially at Montreal, where the Agents and other persons connected with the North-West Company form a great part of it.—We have received attentions from the latter without the least reflection having been cast on our characters,—but as soon as we agreed to become settlers with the Earl of Selkirk, we were accused, as before-mentioned, of the grossest misconduct.

The officers of De Meuron's Regiment had been induced (after a mature consideration of the Hudson's Bay Charter, which the Earl of Selkirk was pleased to submit to our notice, and which appeared to us unexceptionable, particularly as it had received the sanction of the most eminent Counsel in England) to accept his offers to become settlers in his colony at the Red River. I feel it, therefore, a duty incumbent on me as one of the officers of that Regiment, to contradict those assertions so injurious to

the character of men who for many years, have most honourably and faithfully served his Majesty; and who, on the reduction of the Regiment, had agreed to accompany the Earl of Selkirk, not for the purpose (as has been falsely stated) to be employed by his Lordship in a military expedition, (though the men must have had a warlike appearance from wearing the new cloathing issued to them from the regimental stores) and to commit hostilities and depredations on British subjects—but for the purpose of becoming useful members of his Lordship's Settlement.

With respect to the late Regiment De Meuron being called plunderers and deserters from Buonaparte's armies in Spain, it is well known that in 1809, when the regiment was at Gibraltar, his Majesty's Government authorised that all the Germans and Piedemontese whom the conscription had forced to enter Buonaparte's armies, from which they escaped as soon as an opportunity offered, should be enlisted in his Majesty's service, in consequence of which many came over and received the regular bounty. The regiment went the same year to Malta, where it remained till 1813, when it was ordered to North America. On its departure from the island, his Excellency Lieutenant-General Oakes, the Governor, issued the following Garrison Order:—

GARRISON ORDER. *Malta, May* 4, 1813.

"Lieutenant-General Oakes cannot suffer the Regiment "De Meuron to quit this garrison where they have so long "been stationed under his command, without assuring "them of the satisfaction which their good conduct and "attention to military discipline have constantly afforded "him, and which have been equally conspicuous in every "rank. They will embark from hence as fine and well "appointed a regiment as any in his Majesty's service.

"The Lieutenant-General has no doubt but by their "conduct and gallantry, on the desirable service on which "they are about to be employed, they will confirm the "high opinion he has formed of them, and will equally "merit the praise and approbation of the General under "whose orders they will soon be placed, to whom he shall "not fail justly to set forth their merits.

"He begs leave to assure the regiment of his warmest "wishes for their glory and success, and of the sincere inte-"rest he shall ever take in their welfare.

(Signed) "P. ANDERSON,
"Deputy Adj.-Gen."

When the regiment was finally disbanded in Canada, his Excellency Sir John Sherbrooke issued also a Garrison Order which would do honour to any regiment.

D. A. G. Office,
GARRISON ORDER. *Quebec, July* 26, 1816.

" In parting with the Regiments De Meuron and Watte-
" ville, both of which corps his Excellency has had the
" good fortune of having had under his command in other
" parts of the world, Sir John Sherbrooke desires Lieute-
" nant-Colonel De Meuron and Lieutenant-Colonel May,
" and the officers and men of those corps will accept his
" congratulations on having by their conduct in the
" Canadas maintained the reputation which they have
" deservedly acquired by their former services.

" His Excellency can have no hesitation in saying,
" that his Majesty's service in these provinces has derived
" important advantages during the late war, from the
" steadiness, discipline, and efficiency of these corps.

(Signed) " J. HARVEY, Lt. Col.
" Deputy Adjutant-General."

As it is not to be supposed that any British General would bestow commendations where they are not due, can it be believed that men deserving such praise would be contaminated, and become plunderers, from accompanying an English Nobleman, and wishing to become settlers under the protection of a Government whom they had learned to appreciate during the time they served it? The North-West Company also accuse the men of being drunk on the day they entered Fort William. This, I declare to be false, as not a man of them was, in the slightest degree, intoxicated, or had the means of being so. Indeed, I may only refer to Messrs. Brumby and Misani's Declaration to ask, whether it is probable that they would have omitted so strong a charge against the Earl of Selkirk and his party, and whether the North-West Company, under whose influence they made their Deposition, would have neglected to make them corroborate what was so maliciously stated for the purpose of defaming my brother officers and myself, and the men of our late regiment then with us at Fort William.

(Signed) G. A. FAUCHE,
Late Lieutenant De Meuron's Regiment,

4, *Queen Square, Westminster.*
June 24th, 1817.

[L. L.]

Narrative of Mr. John M'Nabb.

I ARRIVED at Fort William, in company with twelve boats or batteaux, in which were two captains, two lieutenants, with about one hundred men, late of the regiment of Meuron*. We pitched our tents about a mile above the fort, where we found the encampment of Earl Selkirk, with a body guard of six men, and one non-commissioned officer of the 37th regiment, from Drummond's Island, and Captain Lorimier, with an Indian Chief, from Cockenewaga, in Lower Canada.

Early the 13th of August, his Lordship communicated his intention to me, of appointing me, in company with Mr. M'Pherson, to execute a warrant for arresting William M'Gillivray, Esq. agent of the North-West Company. In the afternoon we proceeded to the execution of our office, in a batteau, with nine men, who had arms concealed in the vessel. On arriving opposite the gate, we landed, and proceeded into the fort, through a number of men, in and about the entry: the most part of our companions followed without their arms, and stood in the gateway. Calling for Mr. M'Gillivray, we were desired to enter his apartment, when the warrant was instantly served. He acted as a gentleman, read the warrant, and immediately prepared for accompanying us, at the same time requiring time to converse with two of his partners (Mr. Kenneth M'Kenzie, and Mr. John M'Laughlin), the purport of their conversation was, that they should accompany him to the Earl's tent, and become bail. This was assented to, and, after he had finished a letter he had been interrupted in writing, the three gentlemen accompanied us, in a canoe of their own, by their joint desire. Soon after their arrival, his Lordship desired that I and my above companion in office, should proceed and arrest Mr. Kenneth M'Kenzie and Mr. John M'Laughlin. This done, we were desired to proceed again to the fort, in company with Captain D'Orsonnens, Lieutenant Fauche, and about twenty-five men, late of the Meuron regiment, to arrest the other partners in the fort. We landed, and proceeded to the gate, as before, where several of the proprietors were standing, and a number of men,

* There were eighty of the De Meuron, and twenty of the De Watteville Regiments.

(their servants) and many Indians, were assembled. The warrant was served on two of the gentlemen, but, on approaching the third, resistance was actually made, and a declaration uttered, that no further submission would be given to the execution of my duty, till Mr. M'Gillivray was given up. In consequence, I was nearly shut out of the fort, by attempts to close one leaf of the gates. Mr. M'Pherson was, also, in the same predicament. At this moment I expressed the necessity of support to Captain D'Orsonnens, who, with much alacrity, aided by several of his men, instantly rushed in, and prevented the gate from being closed. The Captain ordered the resister to be seized, and put on board one of the boats. Mr. M'Pherson and I then advanced into the fort, assisted by Lieutenant Fauche. Captain D'Orsonnens quickly followed, with the rest of the men, who were all armed. They ran forward, and, in a moment, took possession of two small cannon that were placed in the court within the gate. The Canadians then dispersed on all sides, and no further signs of resistance were made. We then proceeded to the regular execution of our duty, by the arrest of the other gentlemen named in the warrant. The number of the men in the fort was (by report) upwards of two hundred, and many Indians. When signs of resistance occurred at the gate, the bugle was sounded, upon which Captain Matthey, and the rest of our men, instantly left our encampment, and were soon at the fort also. Much praise is due to Captain D'Orsonnens, for his cool and determined conduct. Lieutenant Fauche co-operated with the most laudable zeal and correctness, and the men behaved with the most exemplary propriety. Captain D'Orsonnens and Mr. Allan remained at the fort, to execute another warrant, which had been issued, to search for, and secure, the papers of the persons arrested, for the safety of which a guard was left in the fort, and centries about the places which were supposed necessary.

The gentlemen, Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie, John M'Donald, Hugh M'Gillis, Simon Fraser, Daniel M'Kenzie, and Allan M'Donald, being thus compelled to submit to the warrant, accompanied me in two canoes to Earl Selkirk's encampment, and, after remaining a short time in his Lordship's tent, were all permitted to retire to their own quarters in the fort, and were left at large, promising, on their word of honour, that no attempts of resistance should be made, nor any hostile measures countenanced or permitted. In consequence, however, of information, obtained early next morning, of clandestine preparations of hostility, carried on

during the night, a warrant was issued out by the Earl Selkirk, for a search for arms, and, in executing this, four cases of guns, eight or more in each, and forty fowling-pieces, loose, loaded and primed, were found in a hay-loft, or barn, concealed: by every appearance, this had been done during the course of the night. Information was also obtained, that eight, or more, barrels of gunpowder had been secretly sent out of the fort. Further, that a canoe had been sent away, with powder and guns, from the fort, during the night. In consequence of these discoveries, the Earl judged it necessary to take more effectual precautions for our security. The greatest part of the Canadian voyageurs, at the fort, in the service of the North-West Company, were ordered to remove their tents to the opposite side of the river, and our own encampment was brought over, and formed immediately before the gate of the fort, in which also additional centries were placed; and the prisoners, who had broke their parole, were more strictly guarded, but still were left in apartments of their own, notwithstanding that a very good prison was found in the fort.

The forenoon of August 15th, Lieutenant Graffenride, and several men, found the eight barrels of gunpowder above mentioned, being about half a mile from the fort, laying uncovered in a swampy spot, among burnt willows, the indirect path-way among the long grass lately trod down, leading thereto, pointing out the certainty of its having been placed there the previous night.

The same day, Mr. M'Gillivray, Alexander M'Kenzie, Kenneth M'Kenzie, John M'Donald, Hugh M'Gillis, Simon Fraser, John M'Laughlin, and Allan M'Donald, were each respectively called before his Lordship, who previously had desired the attendance of Captains Matthey and Lorimier, Lieutenants Mesani and Brumby, Mr. Becher, and myself, seated with his Lordship; during the time the answers of each individual were given to such questions as were proposed, Messrs. Allan and Spencer noted down their declarations. Previous to the examination, each was given to understand, that it was perfectly optional whether they should answer or not.

(Signed) JOHN M'NABB.

Fort-William, 17th August, 1816.

[M. M.]

Deposition of Alexander Fraser.

District of Montreal, Province of Lower Canada. } ALEXANDER FRASER, of River Du Chêine, in the District of Montreal, blacksmith, being duly sworn, deposeth, and saith, That about the spring of the year 1813, he was engaged as a blacksmith in the service of the North-West Company for the space of three years. That he was shortly afterwards sent from La Chine to Fort William, where he remained during the whole period of his service, and faithfully performed his duty until the end of his engagement, in the spring of 1816. That after his time of service was expired, he expressed his desire to return to Montreal, and also his wish to receive his account, and to be paid his wages: that he was told to continue his work; which he refused to do, unless he was paid. That he was then promised that he should be paid for his past services, and for such other work as he should perform. That, relying on this promise, he began a-new to labour in their service, but without entering into any engagement for any limited time or any specific services, excepting to be paid for such work as he should perform, were it more or less.

That, after the arrival at Fort William of one Bourke and others, who had been brought thither in the North-West canoes, after having escaped the massacre at Red River, he was desired by the said Bourke to accompany him in a visit to one Châtelain, a person in the service of the Earl of Selkirk, who was encamped upon a small island at a little distance from Fort William.

That he went accordingly with the said Bourke to see Châtelain, and was desired by the said Châtelain to sell him some skins of the Orignal for the purpose of making shoes, which Châtelain said his men were much in want of. That this deponent had three skins of the Orignal leather, his own private property, which he told Châtelain he would let him have. That this circumstance came afterwards to the knowledge of the Honourable William M'Gillivray, who sent a man to take up this deponent. That this deponent told the man there was no occasion to take him up, that he would go voluntarily to the said William M'Gillivray, which he in effect did. That, when arrived in the presence of the said William M'Gillivray, the latter told the deponent that he had been acting treacherously in selling skins to his (M'Gil-

livray's) enemies. That the deponent then replied, that he did not know whose enemies he had been bargaining with, but they were in want of skins, and this deponent had a right to sell his own property, and should deliver the skins he had promised. That the said M'Gillivray then threatened this deponent with imprisonment, if he had any further connection with Châtelain. That he afterwards took the said three skins, and delivered them to the said Châtelain, at a little distance from Fort William. That this circumstance also came afterwards to the knowledge of the said William M'Gillivray, and on the morning following the delivery of the skins, while this deponent was yet in bed he was directed to get up and go to Dr. Maclaughlin, one of the North-West partners; when he came into Dr. Maclaughlin's presence, the Doctor called out to him, "You damned rascal, how "durst you sell any thing to our enemies? I would hang "you for a copper." The deponent replied, 'You can't 'hang me for that, it is not so easy done.'—That the Doctor, who possessed great bodily strength, immediately laid his hands on this deponent's shoulders, and pushed him down upon the floor, and gave him several severe blows. That, after this he directed the deponent to be taken to a small square building made of hewn logs, without any light, wherein was a quantity of human excrement. That, after being a short time in this confinement, the stench of the place, and the bruises he had received, made this deponent conceive that if he were kept there much longer his health would be destroyed: and he offered to Mr. Tate, an overseer at Fort William, to work for a year without wages for the North-West Company, if they would let him out. That the said Tate came again to the deponent, and told him that he would not get out by serving the North-West Company for one year, nor for two years; but that if he wished to be set at liberty, he must enter into a new engagement to serve them for three years longer. That this deponent refused to sign any such engagement for some time, hoping to induce them to accept of his services for a shorter space of time; but at length, after having been kept in the square building as a prisoner for ten days, perceiving his health much impaired (which is not yet recovered), and being told that he should be put in irons, he agreed to sign, and did sign an engagement to serve the North-West Company for three years more, and was liberated from confinement. That this deponent was frequently advised and desired, from the time he was first in the service of the North-West Company, and even by several of the partners, to take a Squaw as a wife;

but as he conceived this was wished for, for the purpose of getting him to run in debt to the North-West Company, he had never been prevailed upon to do so.

That shortly after this deponent's liberation from confinement, the Earl of Selkirk arrived in the vicinity of Fort William. That the partners of the North-West Company were afterwards arrested under warrants from the Earl of Selkirk. That the Earl of Selkirk did not immediately after the arrest of the partners take possession of Fort William, but allowed the partners to return to their rooms to pass the night. That this deponent himself saw the said partners during the night busily engaged in examining papers, of which he saw them burn a large quantity. That during the night also a great number of guns were removed from the magazines, in which they were kept usually at Fort William; that they do not commonly keep loaded guns in the magazine; but that the guns removed from thence were found loaded, primed, and ready for use concealed in a hay-loft at Fort William the morning following the arrest of the partners. That barrels of gunpowder were also removed and hidden during the same night.

That this deponent gave immediate information to the Earl of Selkirk of these proceedings, and on the morning of the following day his Lordship, whose men had been previously encamped in an open space of ground opposite the fort, came and took possession of Fort William. That this deponent heard at the time from other engagés of the North-West Company, and firmly believes, that the object for which the said arms and ammunition were concealed, was to effect the rescue of the partners arrested, and to destroy the party of the Earl of Selkirk. And this deponent further upon his oath declares, that he firmly believes, from his knowledge of the violent and sanguinary character of the partners of the North-West Company and their previous proceedings, that neither the life of the Earl of Selkirk, nor the lives of his men, would have been safe, had they continued encamped without the Fort, but that they would have been cut off and massacred, if the said Earl of Selkirk had not immediately taken possession of Fort William.

(Signed) ALEXANDER FRASER.

Sworn before me, this 6th
day of March, 1817.

(Signed) J. M. MONDELET, J. P.

[illegible] hommes, au nombre des quels s'est trouvé le Gouverneur Semple.

Dit qu'il n'a tué qui-que-ce-soit ; qu'il fut envoyé quatre jours auparavant la mort du Gouverneur Semple, par un des associés de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, Mr. Alexander McDonell, du Portage de la Prairie, pour porter des vivres à l'endroit nommé la Grenouillière, environ trois lieues plus bas que Fort la Fourche dans la Rivière Rouge; que lui et ses compagnons, pour eviter d'être apperçus des Colons de la Baie d'Hudson, passèrent dans les terres à distance éloignée du Fort de la Baie d'Hudson ;—que dans la vue d'affoiblir le parti de la Baye d'Hudson, les Bois-Brulés avoient voulu emmener avec eux, des colons de la Baye d'Hudson, et, (assistés de l'examiné pour les interpréter en Anglois) ils s'étoient rendus à eux, et en avoient emmené un ;—que lorsqu'ils procedoient vers la Grenouillière, ils apperçurent une grouppe d'hommes composés des gens de la Compagnie de la Baye d'Hudson ;—qu'alors un certain nombre d'hommes au service de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest nommés Bois Brulés joignirent l'examiné, et ses compagnons ;—que ceux-ci croyant que les gens de la Baye d'Hudson leur en vouloient, (parcequ'en s'avançant sur ceux du Nord-Ouest, ils tenoient en mains leurs fusils) voulurent tirer sur eux, mais que l'examiné s'y opposa ;—qu' enfin lui, l'examiné, s'avanca seul sur le parti de la Baye d'Hudson pour parler à ceux qui le composoient, et approcha si près du Gouverneur Semple que celui-ci prit les rennes de la bride du cheval de l'examiné ;—qu'ils se parlèrent, que le Gouverneur se saisit de la crosse du fusil de l'examiné, et ordonna à ses gens d'avancer ;—que ceux-ci n'obeissant pas, et l'examiné disant que s'ils tiroient ils étoient tous morts, le Gouverneur Semple leur dit qu'il ne falloit pas craindre, qu'il n'en n'étoit pas le temps, et qu'il fall[illegible] aussitot l'examiné a entendu le rapport de de[illegible] tirés par les gens de la Baye d'Hudson ;—que [illegible] l'examiné s'est précipité de son cheval à terre, te[illegible] cependant la crinière de son cheval, et que le cheval effra[illegible] l'a ainsi trainé jusqu'à distance d'environ une portée de